

THE CANDIDATES

THE WORLD TOMORROW

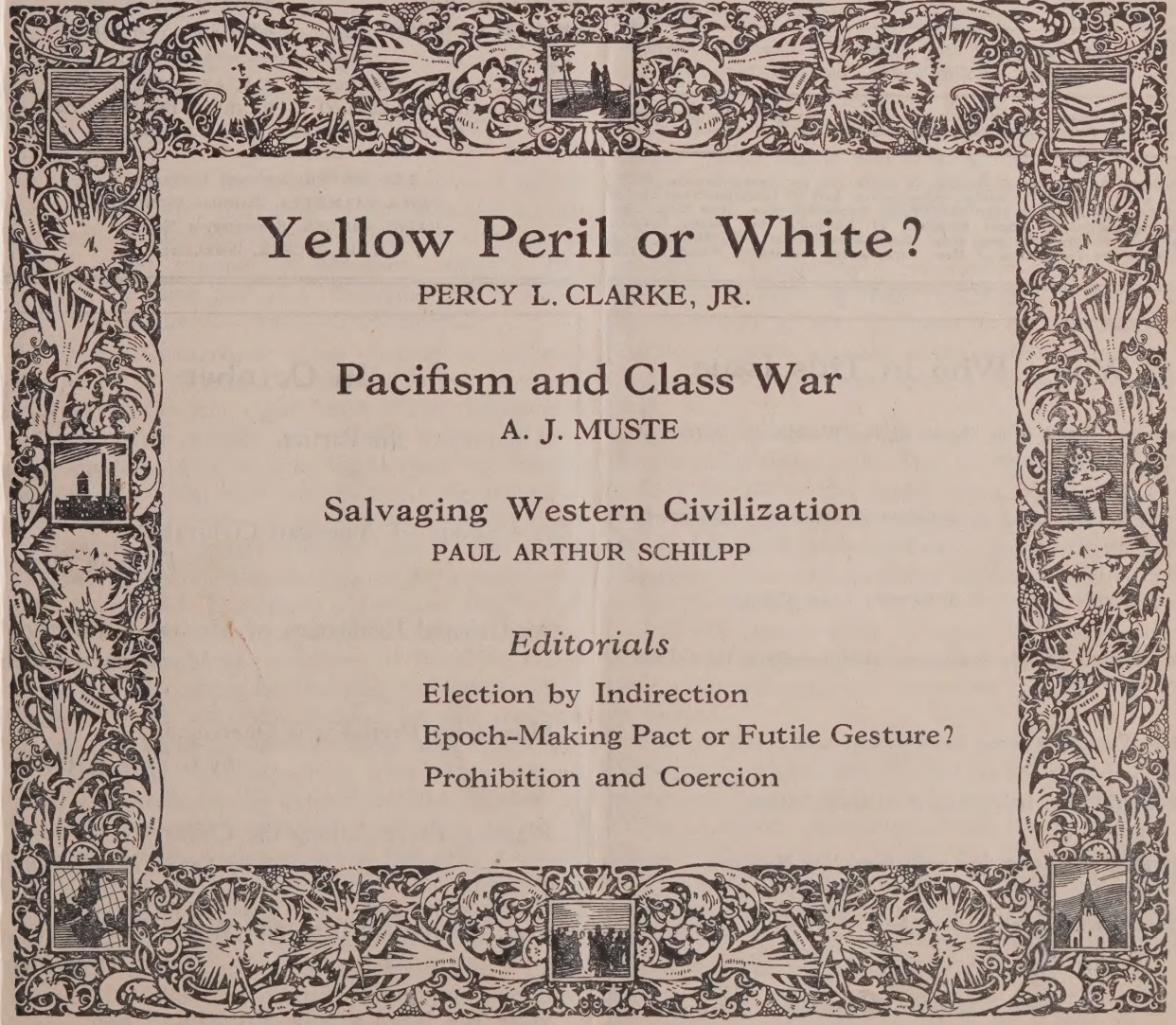
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No. 9



Yellow Peril or White?

PERCY L. CLARKE, JR.

Pacifism and Class War

A. J. MUSTE

Salvaging Western Civilization

PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP

Editorials

Election by Indirection

Epoch-Making Pact or Futile Gesture?

Prohibition and Coercion

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
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The World Tomorrow

Vol. XI

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In October

A Survey of the Parties,

by Devere Allen

A Critique of American Civilization,

by John Dewey

An Oriental Evaluation of Modern Civilization,

by Masaharu Anezaki

How Race Prejudice is Overcome,

by George L. Collins

Planting Peace Among the Children,

by Sarah N. Cleghorn

The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace,

by Kirby Page

Why We Need a New Economic Order,

by Reinhold Niebuhr

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI.

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Editorials

Election by Indirection

The most conspicuous thing about the pre-convention campaign for the Republican and Democratic nominations was the silence of the leading contenders on public issues. Both were selected less because of any social question on which they had clearly spoken than for their vote-getting ability. It now appears that the nullification of real issues by indirection is to be the procedure of the electoral campaign as well.

We expect to deal later with the acceptance speech of Governor Smith. Our present theme is the acceptance speech of Herbert Hoover, which, in view of his conceded better chances, is of great import. His speech for the most part is a masterpiece of evasion, perhaps less deliberate than temperamental.

No issue looms greater than whether or not corruption is to be tolerated further as it has been tolerated during the last eight years. The Republican nominee cleverly sought to remind voters of the existence of Tammany by referring to state and municipal corruption along with national; but the sword of honesty cuts two ways. Mr. Hoover owes his nomination partly to popular demand and partly to the backing of Harry F. Daugherty's fellow-conspirator, George Lockwood, Daugherty's assistant Rush Holland, and C. Bascom Slemph, intimate and confidant of Fall, McLean, and other members of the Ohio Gang foisted upon the country by Harding and condoned by Coolidge. If he wins the election he will owe his choice also in some measure to these supporters and to local political machines every whit as sinister as Tammany. Corruption is defined by Mr. Hoover as "treason to the state"; but is he not then guilty of traitorous inaction who has never yet said a single specific word in condemnation of the crew from whom he first received political favors, with whom he sat in Washington for several years, and from whose remnants he now derives assistance? "Don't worry about that," said a liberal Hooverite to cheer our lean optimism; "all that is just until he get in." Such a view, irrespective of its dubious ethics, is politically

naive; for no President has ever escaped the incubus of his pre-election obligations; nor is there anything in Mr. Hoover's eight-year record to justify the hope that he would even desire to break free. To our ears actions speak louder than microphones. Only the veriest novice could fail to smile when the candidate solemnly asserts that "the record of these seven and one-half years constitutes a period of rare courage in leadership and constructive action." If that is true, George Washington was King George in disguise and Nick Carter one of the Rollo Boys.

In economics Mr. Hoover treads faithfully the narrow path of narrow Coolidgeism. High tariffs, continued prosperity, commercial and industrial growth. Everything from the ending of the war and the deflation of war budgets to the introduction of electric heaters into the home (electric power trust propaganda respectfully omitted) is due to Republican rule.

In farm relief Mr. Hoover, after eight years, is passionately interested. But his vagueness is noticeable. Tariff for the farmer; but how much and on what? Reorganization of marketing, but beyond a Federal Farm Board, just how? Apparently, too, Mr. Hoover has never heard that land values have any relation to agriculture.

Labor's conservatism is cause for commendation; collective bargaining—oh, these daring Republicans!—is endorsed; and the "excessive" use of injunctions is decried.

Except for passing mention of the right of equal opportunity regardless of color, the speech is woefully silent and unappreciative about the actual problems facing colored Americans today both North and South.

The pre-convention stand on Prohibition is reiterated, thus leaving the Republican press which was before divided in its interpretation divided still, the Drys happy and the Wets confident that they need not take alarm. The statement, however, unspecific as it is, represents in its emphasis, at least, a step more definitely away from the well-known view of Smith.

In his handling of foreign relations, preparedness and peace, Mr. Hoover presents a fascinating psychological study. The treaties for renunciation of war are approved; co-operation with the League is assured, with continued non-membership. The right hand of fellowship is extended to other nations, while the left hand is clutching a ready dagger kept in plain view of all. Goodwill and armament! Mr. Hoover's "one certain guarantee of freedom" is "preparedness for defense."

Now, Herbert Hoover is rated as a Quaker. We have not checked up on the tale that he recently changed his congregation in Washington because in the first one many Quakers took their peace principles much too seriously. But it fits well into the picture rapidly developing: A recent interview in the capital concerned itself with Mr. Hoover's possible anomalous place as Quaker pacifist and Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army and Navy. Many Quakers, said the interviewer, were conscientious objectors in the World War. Was there not a Quaker attitude to war which might inhibit him from such a military post? Mr. Hoover's reply was prompt. There was no discrepancy in a Quaker's serving as head of the armed forces of the country; his own war record, while he was not a combatant, was of such a nature that it could not have been performed by one committed against war. We wonder how most Quakers like it, and wonder how it may affect their votes.

In view of this duality on peace and war, the attempt to ride right along in the train of the Harding-Coolidge bandwagons, and the vagueness on numerous matters, in particular on Republican corruption, there seems less unfairness than there might be in the comment of the independent *Milwaukee Journal*: "Hoover's speech fits him into the Harding-Coolidge administrations without a jar. He would do a bit of polishing here and there, reorganize administrative machinery, tighten a few screws that have worked loose, sweep the dirt a little farther under the radiator."

Prohibition and Coercion

In spite of the pious wish of Dr. Work it is becoming increasingly apparent that prohibition will become one of the major issues, if not the issue of the presidential campaign. In some respects it will not be quite as great an issue as it will seem upon the surface. For a great deal of anti-Catholic prejudice will be masked behind the liquor issue. Governor Smith is a Wet and a Catholic. Since religious prejudice has become officially unrespectable many will prefer to express it indirectly. Nevertheless the issue centering in the eighteenth amendment is real.

Unfortunately there is little prospect of the cam-

paign contributing anything to its solution. If modification is the way out the election of Smith will not accomplish it. Dry Democrats united with Dry Republicans will be able to frustrate any initiative which a Wet administration might take. If Hoover is elected there is little probability of any change for either better or worse in the present status of law enforcement. The administration will probably continue to insist that the eighteenth amendment must be enforced and will do as little as is possible to accomplish that end. There are others beside Boss Vare supporting Hoover who share the boss's position on liquor problems.

Great social experiments such as prohibition are not aided by war psychology. The Wets and Drys may fight all they want to on the question of enforcement. The question whether prohibition will succeed or not is not going to be settled politically. Obviously the law is not being enforced because it is not being observed. It is probable that a majority of the nation still supports and observes the law. But when minorities become large they can play havoc with any social standard. The minority in opposition to prohibition is undoubtedly large and there are some indications that it is growing rather than diminishing.

The increasing use of political force will not bring this minority to capitulation. The question is whether the institutions of religion, education and morality through whom the eighteenth amendment became a fact can wield enough influence to convince the conscience of the nation that the law is right and can prompt enough individuals to the kind of self-discipline which will make the law enforceable. Perhaps the prosperity of the nation and the general laxness in moral standards has made the kind of discipline which prohibition requires impossible. Perhaps it is simply not possible to win enough individuals over to the ideal involved in total abstinence either in this or in any other time. If out of the confused facts involved in the prohibition experiment one truth emerges clearly, it is that legal prohibition is never a substitute for personal discipline. Legal coercion may be feasible when the minority to be coerced is small; but if opposition to a law is sanctioned by a considerable minority and if this minority includes socially responsible persons all the limitations of coercive methods become immediately apparent. Either a considerable majority of our people will voluntarily renounce the use of liquor or there will not finally be any effective prohibition.

Unlike many anti-prohibitionists, we believe that the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants might be a great blessing to this country. Unlike many prohibitionists we do not believe that it is within the province of the state to accomplish the success or to cause the failure of the experiment by political and legal methods. If the experiment succeeds it will be because the churches

and other institutions interested in moral life have prompted the large majority of the people to accept total abstinence as a legitimate ideal. If they fail in imposing this no legal pressure or punishment will be able to guarantee the success of the prohibition experiment. We do not say that bootleggers ought not be punished. What is evident is that such punishment, even if increased, will not change the appetites of those who create their illegitimate trade. Arguments that prohibition is wrong because it restricts personal liberty seem to us foolish. Civilization moves by a progressive restriction of personal liberty. But no state can undertake the legal restriction of personal liberty if previously the restriction has not become a matter of self-discipline on the part of a majority of its citizens.

Epoch-Making Pact or Futile Gesture?

The signing of the multilateral treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy may mark the beginning of a new era in human history, or it may prove to be only a futile gesture. Everything depends upon whether or not the nations go forward and adopt the additional measures which are required before war can be completely abolished.

Beyond question the pact represents a tremendously significant change in diplomatic procedure. For ages war has been the chief means of advancing national policy. Only recently have governments felt obliged to justify their wars on grounds of self-defense. Aggression was formerly regarded as the sovereign right of a great power. Now the signatories to this treaty renounce an ancient prerogative. If the two main articles of the agreement stood by themselves and really meant what they appear to say, then indeed a new day has dawned. On the face of it these words commit the signatories to the pacific settlement of every conceivable controversy which may arise between them.

But unfortunately the treaty is accompanied by a series of interpretative notes from the various governments which nullify much of its value. According to these interpretations at least four kinds of war are permissible: in self-defense; in defense of third parties; in cases of armed intervention by great powers; in "certain regions." The latter reservation especially will destroy much of the value of the pact if allowed to remain. Under it Great Britain reserves the right to wage war in defense of Egypt, Gibraltar, the Suez Canal Zone, the Persian Gulf and India. Indeed the interpretation may be stretched to cover most of the earth. It is highly significant that Secretary Kellogg did not challenge the validity of this interpretation. How could he, as long as the United States reserves the right to wage war in the Caribbean under the so-called Monroe Doctrine?

It is apparent that such a pact does not outlaw war in any genuine sense. Indeed the word "outlawry" does not occur in the treaty or in any of the notes. Renunciation is a very different idea from outlawry. Thus it is obvious that only a fraction of the original outlawry program has been achieved. And this program itself was utterly inadequate to abolish war. Many other important measures are necessary before the goal of permanent peace can be reached. Among the steps which must be taken are these: eliminate the qualifying interpretations and let the pact stand as mankind's simple declaration of purpose to renounce war forever and to settle all disputes of whatever nature by pacific means; proceed seriously with the task of creating and strengthening the international organization required for conciliation, arbitration, judicial decision, conference, administration, and emergency action; cease to rely upon armaments and armed sanctions; go forward with drastic reductions in armies and navies; abandon armed intervention and coercive control of other peoples; withdraw sanction and support from the entire war system and refuse ever to engage in it; devote time and money to a world-wide campaign of education for peace and friendship. These steps, if taken, would not bring us instantly to the millennium. But they would lead to far greater security than can ever be attained by battleships and battalions of armed men. Moreover, they would carry us beyond the probability of further war.

We can have peace in our time if we desire it with sufficient earnestness. The multilateral treaty may yet prove to be the charter of emancipation for mankind. Only we must not falter. Resolutely we must take the necessary steps one by one. To rely upon the pact as interpreted in the accompanying notes would be simply to toss away humanity's glorious opportunity. To move forward timidly for fear of treading upon some deep-rooted prejudice or of encountering some political shibboleth will be to miss the chance of a thousand years. This is no time to soft-pedal on the Permanent Court, the League, disarmament, pacifism, or the abandonment of intervention and coercive imperialism. The occasion demands a tidal wave of public opinion. Let the people rise up and insist that governments cease playing with the destiny of the human race. One step will not take us out of danger, but many steps will lead to security and peace. Courage and daring are desperately needed by the peace forces of the world.

Is There Much Poverty?

One of our contemporaries has challenged the accuracy of a statement which appeared in a recent issue of this journal to the effect that in the United States there is a condition of "poverty for many while a few live in extreme luxury." In commenting upon this quotation,

The Nation's Business says: "As untrue a statement as can easily be conceived. It should read: 'Poverty for a few while many live in luxury.'"

It may be that the chief difference between us is a question of definition. Would it be reasonable to say that a family of four or five members residing in an urban community with an annual income of less than \$1,500 is compelled to live in poverty? Can a family live in *extreme* luxury on less than \$10,000 per year?

One way of determining the extent of poverty and luxury is by an examination of income tax returns and wage rates. The latest official *Statistical Abstract of the United States* records the fact that of the approximately forty-five million persons gainfully employed, only 7,369,788 filed income tax returns in 1924, the latest year for which figures are given. In that year single men were required to file a tax return if they had a net income of \$1,000 and married persons if they received \$2,500. It will be observed that this is less than one out of six gainfully-employed persons. There are about twenty-five million heads of families in this country, yet less than five million persons, only one-fifth as many, received a net income as high as \$2,000.

We arrive at the same conclusion if we approach the matter from the angle of wage rates. The aristocrats of labor receive as high as \$15 to \$16 per day, or, with unavoidable lost time deducted, from \$3,600 to \$4,000 per year. But only a small fraction of wage earners are in this category. Before us as we write are recent reports from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics which show that the average full-time weekly earnings in the iron and steel industry in 1926 were \$34.41; automobile industry, \$36.37; bituminous coal mining, \$31.35; woolen mills, \$24.21; cotton mills, \$17.48. These are average rates—from \$908.96 to \$1,891.24 annually if not a single day is lost—which means that many fall far below these figures. Another recent report from the same source gives the rates for male common laborers in twelve industries as varying from \$17 to \$29.45 per week—or from \$884 to \$1,531.40 for a full year's work. But, of course, there is always a minimum of lost time, while in periods of prolonged illness or other enforced unemployment—as at present when from three to five millions are out of a job—workers with such a narrow margin frequently plunge beneath the poverty level into actual destitution. Furthermore multitudes of farmers are in desperate need. Last year when conditions were much better than at present, the Secretary of Labor called attention to the acuteness of the situation in these words: "I would venture to say that we have among us from ten to fifteen million of people who do not share as they should in the prosperity enjoyed by the rest of us."

Now about the other side of the picture. Beyond question the people of the United States are enjoying more luxuries than were ever granted to any previous

generation. The standard of living has risen substantially. But only a relatively small proportion of the population is able to enjoy extreme luxury. Luxuries cost money and the income tax returns indicate that only a small percentage of the population ever rises to the higher brackets. Out of some forty-five million persons gainfully employed only 259,808 reported an income as high as \$10,000—about one-half of one per cent; while only 68,592 reached the \$25,000 mark—one-seventh of one per cent.

Allowance must be made for the fact that in many homes there are several members gainfully employed. This explains the presence of luxuries in many households. But it is an incontrovertible fact that the wages received by most unskilled and some semi-skilled workers are insufficient to enable them to get beyond the reach of poverty and frequently are not enough even to prevent destitution. The result is child labor and the enforced migration of wives and mothers from the home to the factory. Over against this, one-half of one per cent enjoys incomes of \$10,000 per year. We repeat our former statement that many are in poverty while a few live in extreme luxury.

The Stuff of Civilization

The radio is justly acclaimed as one of the marvels of modern civilization. The other evening there was a hook-up of stations in various countries which made it possible for practically every receiving set on earth to tune in. From the northern limits of Europe to the southern extremities of New Zealand, men and women of many races listened in. What was it that held spellbound this vast multitude in every region of the globe? A great symphony or a sweet singer? An outstanding statesman or a leading educator? Oh no! These are the words that were heard around the earth: "Gene drove his right to the body and right to the heart, his left to the face. Heeney looks terrible." From the tens of thousands of descriptions of the "battle of the century" which appeared in the press of the world on the following day, we quote these classic words: "Tunney stepped forward and deliberately began the butchery while the crowd roared. Gene swings a deadly right as Heeney swayed groggily and the New Zealander went down with a crash. . . . Except for these flashes of savagery, when the men at the ringside hunched forward to enjoy the delight of vicarious blood-letting and even the cool-eyed women took the cigarettes from their mouths, it was a remorseless technical butchery, this fight of Gene Tunney's. Heeney lay unconscious at the ring's end while the bell jangled and his handlers prayed profanely. . . . Yankee Stadium sounded like hell on a hot night." The radio is indeed a marvel, but more than inventive genius is required to make an enduring civilization.

The Candidates

LAURENCE TODD

LET us look at these candidates.

Four political parties* in the United States have nominated men for the presidency and for the vice-presidency of this republic. Next March the nominees of one of these parties will become, respectively, the ruler and the next heir to the supreme administrative power in our government.

What manner of men are they?

Take Herbert Hoover, Republican presidential nominee, first. He served in the cabinet of Warren G. Harding and has remained in the cabinet of Calvin Coolidge as Secretary of Commerce. Before that he was Food Administrator under President Wilson, and before that he was in charge of food relief in Belgium. Prior to the war he had had a notably successful career as mining engineer in the West and in Australia, China, Siberia and elsewhere. For many years his headquarters were in London. He commanded scores of thousands of men in various mining enterprises, and made millions for himself and his associates by applying modern methods and fast work to big properties. An engineer and business man who thinks in millions of dollars, in thousands of miles, in terms of mechanical efficiency.

Is Hoover a human being? This is a very difficult job to which he now aspires. Imperial powers rest on the President. His decisions, day by day, affect the happiness, the breadth of freedom, of hundreds of millions of human beings in America and around the earth. Are we to credit this Herbert Hoover with warmth of heart, tolerance of spirit, readiness to sacrifice material ends to save the finer values of life when issues between property and human rights are brought before him?

Personal acquaintances differ in testimony on this point. His intimate friends declare him the most sympathetic of men. Others who have gone to him on errands of humanity in the past ten years report him coldly evasive or even cynical. There was, for instance, a delegation which asked him to use his

influence to break down the blockade against the sending of medicines into Soviet Russia during her early civil wars. A member of that delegation said afterward that Hoover replied sharply that if the Russians wanted medicines they could get them—by establishing a decent form of government. This was about the time when his subordinate, Gregory, withheld food from starving Budapest until the Hungarian Soviet government resigned, and the Horthy White Terror was permitted to enter the capital and go about the extermination of thousands of Communists, Social Democrats, Liberals and others who had been spokesmen for the intellectuals and the working class.

For nine years—from the beginning of the World War until the end of the Russian famine work in the fall of 1923—Herbert Hoover directed organizations for feeding the victims of war or of natural forces in Europe. His admirers speak of him as a savior of humanity. Others speak of him as a cold dictator, holding firmly in his hands the power of life and death over helpless multitudes and skilfully using this power to stifle the voice of working-class revolution. His famine relief program in Soviet Russia was undertaken after many months of appeal from Russia's sympathizers. It was not permitted to function until the Soviet government had placed in Hoover's hands full authority over its operation. And pictures of Hoover—not printed in Russia—were furnished with the food, to be set up in huts where hunger had been banished by American relief.

In the Harding cabinet, Hoover found himself flanked by Fall and Daugherty and Denby, by Will Hays and Mellon and Weeks. Years of shameful maladministration of federal authority followed. Hoover did not protest at what went on. He had suddenly become a Republican partisan in 1920, denouncing the Wilson administration as having been a failure "since the Armistice." He appealed to the voters in behalf of the Harding-Coolidge ticket in 1920, and for the Coolidge-Dawes ticket in 1924. He became the hero of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, largely because of his assistance in the formation of trade associations which freed business from the fear of anti-trust laws. His speeches were widely quoted by the private utility interests, because he declared against public ownership. Never had a cabinet officer been more popular in those circles where profits are coined from speeded machinery, mass production, standardization, world-wide marketing, and getting rid of obsolete human and other equipment.

*If an independent journal has any function in an election year, it is to bring before its readers the minority candidates and party viewpoints which are denied adequate publicity in the "regular" press. We are glad, therefore, to print the article by Laurence Todd, who is in charge of the Washington Bureau of the Federated Press, "Labor's News Service". Mr. Todd is a competent and balanced observer. It will be plain to all regular readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW that this journal does not share his faith in the candidacy of Mr. Foster, of the Workers (Communist) Party, as a chance for a bona fide protest vote, since the communist ideology and strategy emphasize dictatorship and do not, either in theory or practice, tolerate free protest by minorities opposed to them. In other words, though qualifications might be necessary for detailed exactitude, communists on the whole believe in free speech and free agitation for communists only. We are, nevertheless, determined to present as fairly as we can the claims of all parties, and with our October issue will print a chart setting forth impartially the program of every party offering a national ticket, including the Prohibitionist and Socialist labor parties which Mr. Todd does not discuss. Editorially, however, we will continue to reiterate our belief that the candidacy of Norman Thomas offers to friends of peace and social justice a valuable opportunity.—THE EDITORS.

America, in these years, was stirred by strike after strike, but Herbert Hoover never went before the public with an appeal for humanity as against profits. He did have a hand in the making of the Jacksonville coal wage agreement—because the United Mine Workers had been forced by the federal government to abandon a strike and had been promised the good offices of the Administration in securing an agreement with the mine operators. When the Mellon and Schwab and Rockefeller interests tore up that contract, Herbert Hoover, still Secretary of Commerce, made no public move to compel the contract-breakers to keep their word.

Political prisoners, victims of the hysteria which accompanied and followed the war, afforded another test of humane sentiments in a man so powerful in the government as Hoover. If he ever lifted a hand to soften the persecution and to secure release of any of the thousands of these men and women—from Debs to the last I. W. W.—the public has yet to hear of it. And in the crowning infamy of that persecution—the long-drawn-out mental torture and final deliberate class-murder of Sacco and Vanzetti—when the conscience of the whole world was aroused and men of all classes in parliaments of the most enlightened nations were cabling their appeals to the governor of Massachusetts to save these martyrs, Hoover's voice was not heard. He remained in the company of Coolidge, Butler, Sargent and the rest who were unmoved by the prospect of the burning of these workers to death.

Men should not, perhaps, be condemned for normal response to the suggestions of their environment. But they should be understood. Hoover's environment has been business—big business, hard-driving, cold-calculated, unburdened with humane idealism. If he becomes President, he takes power over our lives and the lives of our children. Incidents of class suffering, class hopes and struggles and defeats, are certain to crowd upon us in these coming years. We cannot fairly expect Herbert Hoover to change his attitude.

As for Charles Curtis, his running-mate, he is important only because the death of Hoover would bring him to the presidential office. A lifelong pliant servant of organized privilege, he has not the hard dictatorial nature of Hoover. Rather he is easy-going as was Harding. All things to all comers, he has held his place in the Senate by dint of agile political gymnastics, a quiet manner, endless small personal errands run for people whose support he may sometime need, and a solemn loyalty to the Republican national committee. In sum, he is a regular, uninspired politician.

ALFRED EMANUEL SMITH, four times governor of New York, is the presidential nominee of the Democratic party. Grown up in the tenement

wilderness of New York City, molded by the example and pressure of competition forced upon him by the hurrying throngs in her streets, rising to leadership of political forces through the keenness of his understanding of questions of local public policy, his career has been as notable in its way as has that of Hoover. Instead of handling mining projects he handled projects in government. While Hoover traveled around the earth, Smith explored the possibilities of administration of public affairs in New York. Finally his admirers say triumphantly, Smith emerged alone in his field—the one man who was credited with knowing the intricacies of relationship between the voters in New York state and the taxing power above them.

To Americans outside New York this does not seem so very important to the nation—that a man should have been developed who is an expert administrator of the public machinery of one of the 48 American commonwealths. After all, no millennium has been achieved within the area between Buffalo and Morristauk. It is still possible for a state employment agency to recruit strikebreakers in Elmira, and for police controlled by Smith's most ardent supporters to club strikers in a courtroom.

But Al Smith has done so much better than the country has been led to believe it possible for a Tammany man to do! He has given a relatively clear administration to the state. His appointees have been singularly free from the suspicion of graft. His political opponents have been less fortunate in their record. And while the Republicans have controlled a majority in the legislature, so persuasively right has Smith been in many of his proposals for legislation, and so active has he been in telling the people of his plans, that the Republican legislators have year after year been driven to accept parts of his program.

He saved the water-power resources of the state forest and park system from the clutches of the power trust. True, his imagination does not reach the awful abyss of furnishing cheap power from state-owned plants directly to the people, who are the stockholders in state government. But at least he refuses to agree that title to the plants shall go to private monopoly. Cheap power may yet come of his caution.

Smith has had many strike situations to meet. He has kept the good opinion of the bulk of organized labor in his city and state. He has been faced by problems of civil liberties. He pardoned Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow, after carefully studying the petition in their behalf which came to him from influential individuals and from working-class groups. He opposed the ousting of the Socialists from the New York Assembly during his first term as Governor. He ordered new elections held when he knew that the

ould be re-elected, as they were. He opposed the second expulsion of these victims of mob-mania. He opposed the passage of the Lusk bills which sought to suppress freedom of speech and assembly and teaching in New York State. When the legislature passed them, Smith delivered a veto message which put an end to the persecution epidemic.

Toward measures seeking to improve, little by little, the condition of workers in industry, Smith has been generally sympathetic. At times he has vetoed salary increase bills affecting civil service employees. There were times when he was bent on demonstrating that he was able to cut the cost of government. But Smith's trend is toward helping people to be more comfortable, rather than toward building for himself a reputation as a hard taskmaster. The helplessness of the individual to stand, alone and friendless, in the great industrial city was taught him early. Friends, rather than factory product, are the main justification of life for him.

Of course Smith is no radical. He has become comfortable in this world's wealth. His associates are practical men, mostly politicians. Back of them are business men. He turned naturally to Raskob, a DuPont executive, head of the financial machinery of General Motors—foremost anti-union employing concern in the United States—when he wanted a manager for his campaign. Smith locks arms with Raskob and faces Wall Street with his most engaging smile. He knows, as they know, that the great majority of them will support Hoover, a tried and efficient servant of their system. But a minority of them, challenged by his spokesman for the New America, the America whose parents were born abroad and who now are for the first time in the history of the republic demanding their turn at naming a White House occupant, will rally to him in full confidence that he will never do anything to disturb their investments.

Smith has declared against the prohibition law, and thereby has won the support of great numbers of drinkers and of persons who are convinced that liquor prohibition is tyranny or hypocrisy or both. On the other hand he has won the enmity of millions of people who fear the return of the saloon. His record as a member of the New York legislature during the years when prohibition had not become nationwide was favorable to the saloon element. That was natural, in view of his lifelong environment. It is aimed that he afterward—and when not running for office—spoke feelingly in rejoicing that the saloon had gone. He now maintains that he opposes the saloon. But he has made himself, by his declaration to the Houston convention, a definitely "wet" candidate. What steps he will propose, legally to restore the liquor business in any form, remain undivulged as the country awaits his acceptance speech.

Senator Joseph Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic nominee for the vice-presidency, like Curtis of Kansas on the Republican ticket, deserves slight notice in this campaign. For many years he has been a regular Democratic politician in the House and Senate. From time to time his fiery temper has flamed out to the verge of violence—as for example when the late Senator LaFollette was engaging in debate against the armed-ship bill of President Wilson. Robinson never has been a progressive; usually his vote on economic issues in the Senate has been satisfactory to the big banks, power companies and industrial giants.

There they stand—Hoover the Efficient, the Silent, the Cold, and Smith the Friendly, the Understanding, the Wet. With the one in the White House, we may reasonably anticipate announcements that prosperity is going to become permanent—except for the old and sick and disabled and underprivileged. With the other in the White House, we may be certain that the country will be flooded with sentimentalism while the new administration will be packed with men of "reassuring"—which means reactionary—social and economic views. For Smith must still cooperate with his party in Congress. And that party is as much the party of low wages and high dividends as is the party of Mellon and Hoover.

OF course no one among the 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 voters who will take part in this election need support either Hoover or Smith. There are two other tickets, representing social idealism rather than struggle for office or the hope of immediate power over the nation. Norman Thomas is the Socialist party nominee for the presidency. He was formerly a Presbyterian minister. He is a finer student, a more gifted speaker, and has a broader outlook upon the human tide than have either of the candidates of the major parties. His sympathy with oppressed and exploited humanity has never been concealed for material or other reasons. He has spoken out with trumpet clearness in protest at violations of civil liberties. He has been in the forefront of assistance to endless groups of strikers. He has carried the Socialist message to great audiences and to discouragingly small handfuls of people, through long years of devoted service. He is worthy of the mantle of 'Gene Debs.

And with him on the Socialist ticket is the veteran James Maurer, many years president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and now Socialist councilman in Reading. To the workers in the East Maurer is a hero. To the helpless aged he is the chief agitator for old age pensions. To anti-union employers he is a nightmare.

Or, if voters have lost faith in the prospect of competitive conversion of a plurality of the voters to the

Socialist cause, yet still want to vote for a new social order which will remove the capitalist burden from daily life, they may support William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow, nominees of the Workers (Communist) party. Foster came to conventions of the American Federation of Labor, year after year, quietly seeking help in his plan for organizing the half-million steel workers in this country. Finally he secured the promise of cooperation from the Federation and its affiliated unions. He organized and led a magnificent revolt of the slaves of steel. But dissension among the trade union chiefs and overwhelming financial and governmental power in the hands of the steel trust defeated him. Foster received encouragement chiefly from the new Communist movement, here and abroad. He moved leftward. He has courage, force, clear understanding of the difficulties in his road,

and absolute faith in the final triumph of militant labor. Gitlow, fiery exponent of the same gospel, shares his determination, his critical attitude toward the methods of the Socialists, and his sense of the power established in the workers throughout the world by the achievement of the Russian revolution. Gitlow went to prison for his refusal to approve the World War. That experience tempered him for hard fighting.

There they are—Thomas and Foster—both of them a world away from the atmosphere of the Harding cabinet and of Tammany Hall. Men born to American traditions of self-sacrifice as well as of independence. Men who have grown to national stature by the persistence and effectiveness of their challenge to industrial tyranny and political enslavement. Their are the Anti-Slavery parties of 1928. Both nominations were earned.

Yellow Peril or White?

PERCY L. CLARKE, JR.

THOUSANDS of little yellow men in their tiny airplanes flying overhead grinning at the panic-stricken white people underneath who seek frantically but in vain to escape the death-bombs which the little yellow men rain on them! That was the picture of the yellow peril which some of the yellow journals of Chicago painted for me as a child.

What was to prevent the actual realization of the scene? China had a population, we were told, of 450 or 500 millions, and, what was worse, it was increasing at a startling rate. It was only a question of time before the last white man would be wiped off the earth, and in the meantime the white race could expect to be driven from America in the relatively near future. In my boyish day-dreams I used to picture myself struggling vainly, but all the more heroically, while a heap of slain barbarians lay around me (à la Douglas Fairbanks) until I, too, was overcome, the last of the race, and the fair land of America was a yellow possession.

One cannot but marvel at the development and widespread acceptance of such ideas. The population of China is not 450 to 500 millions and never was. China, today, numbers not more than 300 millions, according to the latest estimate of Professor Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, made on the basis of the most recent evidence available.

Most Chinese live at a level of bare subsistence, getting only enough food to keep alive. An increase of population would be possible only if the food supply increased. As there is no evidence that agricultural methods in China have changed during the last one or two centuries, at least, there has been no increase in

the food supply during that time. It is probable, therefore, that the population of China has been stationary for many decades. The fact that famine and flood periodically take a toll of millions and civil war millions more adds to the probability that the population of China has been stationary for a long period.

Consideration of these facts brings us to the following conclusions. The population of China is, first, not nearly so great as is commonly feared, and second, it is not increasing at an alarming rate, if, indeed, it is increasing at all. This disposes of the contention that China is a great and rapidly growing monster—one-half of the yellow peril bogey.

What of the white population of the world meanwhile? The population of the United States is approximately 115 millions. In 1800 it was five millions. That is, the population of the United States has multiplied twenty-three times in 128 years.

This increase has not been the result of a great exodus of people crowded out of an overpopulated Europe, for during the same period the population of Europe has multiplied nearly four times. The white population of the United States, alone, will be greater soon than the entire white population of the world was 150 years ago, according to reliable estimates. For all practical purposes this number may be considered as located solely in Europe. Today the white population of Europe is approximately 495 millions and the white population of the entire world is at least 690 millions, or more than five times what it was in 1750. Of this number something more than a seventh—about 100,000,000 whites—is in the United States.

and this number is increasing so steadily and rapidly that by 1950, only twenty-two years away, the white population of the United States, alone, will be greater than the white population of the entire world was two hundred years before, in 1750.

Accepting Professor Willcox's estimate of the population of China as about 300,000,000 and assuming that it has been stationary for the last 200 years, if there ever was a yellow peril it existed 175 years ago, when the Chinese outnumbered the whites 300,000,000 to 130,000,000, or by $2\frac{1}{3}$ to 1. Today the white population of the world outnumbers the Chinese by 600,000,000 to 300,000,000 or by $2\frac{1}{3}$ to 1. In fact, the white population (if we accept the figure 690 millions—which is conservative) is 330 millions greater than the population of China and Japan put together, and just about equals the total population of China, Japan, and India. So much for the yellow race as a peril for the white.

THE white race multiplied its numbers by five in the last 175 years, and will do it again in the next if certain conditions remain the same. It is this potential increase in white population which is the real world menace today. It is not a peril of white against yellow, but of white against white.

There are three conditions which must remain unchanged if this threatening rate of increase is to continue. First, the same proportion of each generation must marry; second, they must average the same number of children per marriage; and third, the death rate must not increase.

Will the three conditions remain unchanged and population, therefore, continue its present rate of increase? In regard to the first, common belief says no, and accepts the idea that marriage is being postponed, and that that factor, at least, is changing in such direction as to make population increase less rapidly. Here again, the facts are quite different from the fancy, at least in the United States. We are, for a civilized nation, a much marrying people, and are becoming more so. In 1890 the census reported 349 of each 1,000 men as married. But in 1900 the number per thousand married had increased to 360, in 1910 to 382 and in 1920 to 405. This means that in 1920 there were 56 more men married per thousand than there were in 1890.

Not only are more of us marrying than ever before, but we are doing it at an earlier age. Of the total number of young men in the age group 20 to 24 only 89 of each thousand were married in 1890, while the figure is 283 in 1920, an increase of 50 per cent in thirty years. As girls marry at an earlier age than men, a much greater ratio of the young women of 20 to 24 are married, the number per thousand being 467 in 1890 and 523 in 1920, showing a marked increase.

Furthermore, we cannot say that this increase in the number married at early ages is true primarily because it is the young folks of the immigrant classes who are thus marrying at an early age. The census returns report the marital condition for four classes: first, native born of native parents, or those we might consider real American stock; second, for those of mixed parentage; third, those of foreign born parentage, and fourth, those who were foreign born.

Considering the young men of only two groups, the first and last mentioned, the census reports for the last four periods show that the American stock is marrying at an even earlier age compared to the foreign born. It might be said in passing, however, that in the last two decades a larger proportion of foreign born young women are married than American young women.

The marriage rate, then, is being maintained and in so far as marriage is a factor in population increase, the ratio of increase will be raised rather than lowered.

Passing the second point for a moment to a consideration of the third, we know that the death rate has been falling for many decades, particularly in the last three or four. In the last 30 years, the life expectancy of a youth of 17 has increased by three and a half years. This means that on the average a youth of today may expect to live three and one-half years longer than the life span granted to his father, if the difference in their ages is thirty years. The infant mortality rate has decreased so sharply that the life expectancy of a babe at birth is nine years greater today than it was 30 years ago. Certainly we could not look upon an increase in the death rate as a desirable method of attempting to prevent these 690 millions from becoming 3,450 millions, a fivefold increase, by the year 2100.

WITH no change making for a slower rate of population growth to be hoped for from either the first or third factor, the second, that of a decrease in the average number of children per family, is the only reasonable means left. Fewer children per average family must be the expectation and the aim if the great population increase, which would mean economic, social and political disaster for the white race and for the world, is to be avoided. Families must be limited in size if the political peace of the world is to be maintained and our economic advantages continued. Professor Willcox, writing more than a decade ago, said: "If the death rate had not declined, the population of that continent (Europe) would now be increasing faster than the wealth or the food supply. The standard of living would be sinking and we would probably soon relapse into our former ill state. It is the decline in the birth rate, and that only, which has enabled mankind to grip and hold fast the advantages promised by the decline in the death rate."

And yet despite a drop in the birth rate which is so great a drop that families today have only half as many children as they had a century ago, the death rate has fallen so low, comparatively, that the white race goes merrily on its way increasing so rapidly that it constitutes the real world menace. General John F. O'Ryan expressed it when he said: "Overpopulation will cause the next war as it caused the last. Most people will tell you that war is caused by religious or race hatred, but I say that war is caused by the competition of countries for new lands to feed their people, and for new raw materials to feed their factories and to employ their people."

The real population problem rests right there, upon the question of raw materials for industry, rather than upon the problem of food. The competition for control of raw materials, the pressure exerted upon a nation's supply, or possible supply, of these, will be the deciding factor in bringing about a still greater limitation of population long before really serious pressure from scanty food will make itself felt.

The unprecedented increase in white population which has been going on for the last two centuries has been made possible only by the exploitation of virgin resources, an opportunity the like of which we shall never see again.

We have been consuming our forests four times as fast as we have been growing them, but the end is already in sight. Our virgin oil resources are estimated to last from twenty to fifty years longer, with the shorter period the more probable one. Anthracite coal has definitely reached the period of increasing cost of production, making cheap hard coal for domestic use a thing of the past; and since in this machine age power is the all important factor, we can see the situation most vividly by considering the situation as regards fuel resources, the chief raw material, somewhat further.

We shall never run out of coal, at least not in any conceivable period of time. We shall never get all the coal out of the earth that we could get out—if we wanted to pay the price in terms of human effort. But we shall reach the time when the price, thus measured, will be so great that we shall feel it most bitterly. Some countries are face to face with that situation already. A British coal miner, for instance, produces, on the average, $1\frac{3}{4}$ tons of coal for each day's work. An American miner produces 5 tons for each day's work, just four times as much.

Of the 600 million tons of coal produced in this country each year 200 millions, or one-third of it, are used to transport the rest of the coal and the other raw materials used in our industrial life. Double our present population and the demand for coal must be nearly doubled. When our best coal veins have been exhausted so that our miners, too, produce only $1\frac{3}{4}$

tons per day's work, our standard of living will, perforce, have fallen a considerable amount, since our ability to produce at small cost will have fallen in other lines as well.

That we might grow substitutes for our fuel resources is entirely out of the question. According to Raymond Pearl, the energy contained in an entire year's production of human foods in this country equals only three per cent. of the energy contained in our annual output of mineral fuels. *Our whole corn crop would not make alcohol enough to replace gasoline.* Our foods are grown on our best lands. We cannot give them up, but fuel producing vegetation would have to be grown on some of these food lands if we found it necessary to grow a fuel substitute.

Available water power is difficult to estimate accurately, but if it were all developed it would not equal the total power now consumed, and most of it could be made available only at a well-nigh prohibitive price in capital outlay.

IT is because the need for raw materials, especially fuels, is so acute and because the struggle is becoming ever more intense that we have the breakdown or near breakdown of Geneva Conferences. Political intrigues for oil reserves or other possible fuel or raw material resources are unescapable. A modern economic nation is fighting for its very existence since it must gain control of an adequate supply. As this competition between the various branches of the white race becomes more and more bitter, the possibility of devastating wars grows ever greater. Mussolini decrees a higher birth-rate for Italy and says in one of his speeches: "We must have the courage to say that Italy cannot remain forever penned up in one sea, even if it is the Adriatic. Beyond the Adriatic there is the Mediterranean and other seas which can interest us." And again, "It is the hand of destiny that guides us back to our ancient possessions."

France, partly in answer to this, and partly in desperation at the growing German population, offers bonuses for large families. And large populations, meaning more men to bear arms, are the raw materials of war. Europe's motto would seem to be, "We want bigger and better wars." England, realizing that her island is already overpopulated far beyond the power of self-support, sees her only salvation in a navy which will give her undisputed command of the sea. Her very life depends upon the importation of food. And still the cry the empire raises is, "more population."

As a race, we face economic ruin and international anarchy unless we control this growth of population. Paradoxically enough we seek greater populations for self-protection, but when acquired, these swollen populations make aggression necessary to obtain the wherewithal for their maintenance.

Thus, before this pressure will work to reduce population increase as it ultimately must, we see it working to increase populations under the nationalistic urge, ever intensifying the white peril. The *real* peril of the white race is the white race. It is time that we took stock of things as they are, not as we think they ought to be because of any preconceived notions from any source, and honestly admit that the greatest present menace to the white race is itself, the works of Grant, Stoddard, and Money to the contrary notwithstanding. A white population in the world of 3,450,000,000, by

the year 2100 or anything approaching that number, means the end of our present civilization.

To maintain our civilization we must strive for a virtually stationary population, the result of a low birth rate. We need not fear the increase of the so-called backward peoples. They cannot expand in numbers without adopting our methods of production, our type of civilization, with its higher standard of living. If they adopt it they must adopt what is an integral part of it, a low birth rate, and they will, therefore, constitute no menace to the white race.

Pacifism and Class War

A. J. MUSTE

IT is expected perhaps that the article in the present series dealing with pacifism in relation to class war should consist of an exhortation to labor organizations and radicals to eschew violent methods in the pursuit of their ends, together with an exposition of the use of pacifistic methods in labor disputes and social revolutions. If there is such an expectation, this article will be in large measure disappointing. Chiefly, because in my opinion much more time must be spent than has yet been given to clearing away some exceedingly mischievous misconceptions before we can think fruitfully about concrete non-violent methods of social change, and because there are very, very few individuals in the world, including the pacifist groups and churches, who are in a moral position to preach non-resistance to the labor or radical movement.

Practically all our thinking about pacifism in connection with class war starts out at the wrong point. The question raised is how the oppressed in struggling for freedom and the good life may be dissuaded from employing "the revolutionary method of violence" and won over to "the peaceful process of evolution." Two erroneous assumptions are concealed in the question put that way. The first is that the oppressed, the radicals are the ones who are creating the disturbance. To the leaders of Jesus' day, Pharisees, Sadducees, Roman governor, it was Jesus who was upsetting the people, turning the world upside down. In the same way, we speak of the Kuomintang "making a revolution" in China today, seldom by any chance of the Powers having made the revolution by almost a hundred years of trickery, oppression, and inhumanity. Similarly society may permit an utterly impossible situation to develop in an industry like coal, but the workers who finally in desperation put down tools and fold their arms, they are "the strikers," the cause of the breach of the peace. We need to get our thinking focused right, and to see the rulers of Jewry and Rome not

Jesus, the Powers not the Chinese Nationalists, selfish employers or a negligent society not striking workers, as the cause of disturbance in the social order.

A second assumption underlying much of our thinking is that the violence is solely or chiefly committed by the rebels against oppression, and that this violence constitutes the heart of our problem. However, the basic fact is that the economic, social, political order in which we live was built up largely by violence, is now being extended by violence, and is maintained only by violence. A slight knowledge of history, a glimpse at the armies and navies of the Most Christian Powers, at our police and constabulary, at the militaristic fashion in which practically every attempt of workers to organize is greeted, at Nicaragua or China, will suffice to make the point clear to an unbiased mind.

The foremost task, therefore, of the pacifist in connection with class war is to denounce the violence on which the present system is based and all the evil, material and spiritual, this entails for the masses of men throughout the world, and to exhort all rulers in social, political, industrial life, all who occupy places of privilege, all who are the beneficiaries of the present state of things, to relinquish every attempt to hold on to wealth, position and power by force, to give up the instruments of violence on which they annually spend billions of wealth produced by the sweat and anguish of the toilers. So long as we are not dealing honestly and adequately with this ninety per cent of our problem, there is something ludicrous, and perhaps hypocritical about our concern over the ten per cent of violence employed by the rebels against oppression. Can we win the rulers of earth to peaceful methods?

THE psychological basis for the use of non-violent methods is the simple rule that like produces like, kindness provokes kindness, as surely as injustice produces resentment and evil. It is sometimes forgotten

by those whose pacifism is a spurious, namby-pamby thing that if one Biblical statement of this rule is "Do good to them that hate you" (an exhortation presumably intended for the capitalist as well as for the laborer), another statement of the same rule is, "They that sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind." You get from the universe what you give, with interest! What if men build a system on violence and injustice, on not doing good to those who hate them nor even to those who meekly obey and toil for them? And persist in this course through centuries of Christian history? And if then the oppressed raise the chant:

Ye who sowed the wind of sorrow,
Now the whirlwind you must dare,
As ye face upon the morrow,
The advancing Proletaire?

In such a day the pacifist is presumably not absolved from preaching to the rebels that they also shall reap what they sow but assuredly not in such wise as to leave the oppressors safely entrenched in their position, not at the cost of preaching to them in all sternness that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

As we are stayed from preaching non-violence to the under-dog unless and until we have dealt adequately with the dog who is chewing him up, so also are all those who would support a country in war against another country stayed from preaching non-violence in principle to labor or to radical movements. Much could be said on this point, but it is perhaps unnecessary to dwell on it here. Suffice it to observe in passing that to one who has had any intimate connection with labor the flutter occasioned in certain breasts by the occasional violence in connection with strikes seems utterly ridiculous, and will continue to seem so until the possessors of these fluttering breasts have sacrificed a great deal more than they already have in order to banish from the earth the horrible monster of international war.

We are not, to pursue the matter a little further, in a moral position to advocate non-violent methods to labor while we continue to be beneficiaries of the existing order. They who profit by violence, though it be indirectly, unwillingly and only in a small measure, will always be under suspicion and rightly so of seeking to protect their profits, of being selfishly motivated, if they address pious exhortations to those who suffer by that violence.

Nor can anyone really with good conscience advocate abstention from violence to the masses of labor in revolt, unless he is himself identified in spirit with labor and helping it with all his might to achieve its rights and to realize its ideals. In a world built on violence one must be a revolutionary before one can be a pacifist: in such a world a non-revolutionary pacifist is a contradiction in terms, a monstrosity. During the

war, no absolute pacifist in America would have felt justified in exhorting Germany to lay down its arms while saying and doing nothing about America's beligerent activities. We should have recognized instantly the moral absurdity, the implied hypocrisy of such a position. Our duty was to win our own "side" to a "more excellent way." It is a sign of ignorance and lack of realism in our pacifist groups and churches that so many fail to recognize clearly and instantly the same point with regard to the practice of pacifism in social and labor struggles.

THINGS being as they are, it is fairly certain that if a group of workers goes on strike for better conditions, other methods having failed, they will commit some acts of violence and coercion, some evil passions will be aroused in their breasts. Shall the pacifist who has identified himself with labor's cause therefore seek to dissuade the workers from going on strike? (I am of course confining myself here to a question of principle, leaving out of account questions of the expediency of a strike in given conditions). My own answer is an emphatic negative, because I am convinced that in these cases the alternative of submission is by far the greater evil. Appearances are deceiving here, and the human heart is deceitful. There is a certain indolence, a wish not to be disturbed, in us which tempts us to think that when things are quiet all is well. Subconsciously we tend to give the preference to "social peace," though it be only apparent, because our lives and possessions seem then secure. Actually, human beings acquiesce too easily in evil conditions; they rebel far too little and too seldom. There is nothing noble about acquiescence in a cramped life or mere submission to superior force. There is as vast a spiritual difference between such submission of the masses and the glad acceptance of pain by the saint, as there is between the sodden poverty of the urban or rural slum and the voluntary poverty of St. Francis "that walks with God upon the Umbrian hills." No one who has ever inwardly experienced the spiritual exaltation and the intense brotherhood created by a strike, on the one hand, and the sullen submission of hopeless poverty or the dull contentment or "respectability" of those who are too fat and lazy to struggle for freedom, on the other hand, will hesitate for a moment to choose the former though it involves a measure of violence.

Here it may be well to point out that as a matter of fact the amount of violence on the part of workers on strike is usually grossly exaggerated, and that, on the other hand, practically every great strike furnishes inspiring examples of non-resistance under cruel provocation and victory by "soul force" alone, victory through patient endurance of evil and sacrifice even unto death for spiritual ends. I have witnessed these things repeatedly. More than once I have ex-

ported masses of strikers to fold their arms, not to strike back, to smile at those who beat them and tramp them under their horses' feet, and their response has been instantaneous, unreserved, exalted. I have also appealed to police heads to call off violence-provoking extra forces and to employers to discharge labor spies, and have been laughed at for my pains.

MUCH of what has already been said bears upon the special problem of the Communist with his frank espousal of Terrorism, his conviction that no great and salutary social change can be accomplished without violence and that the workers must therefore be prepared for armed revolt. Our whole focus on this problem also is wrong unless we get it clear that violence inheres first in the system against which the Communist revolts, that they who suffer from social revolt in the main reap what by positive evil-doing or indifference they have sown, that practically every great revolution begins peacefully and might proceed so to all appearances but for the development of violent counter-revolution, that the degree of terrorism employed in such an upheaval as the French or Russian revolution is always directly proportionate to the pressure of foreign attack, that in general the amount of "red" terrorism in human history is a bagatelle compared to the "white" terrorism of reactionaries. The question is pertinent as to whether the "Lord's will" is done by the servant who talks about terrorism and practises very little or by the servant who talks about law and order and practises a vast deal of terrorism.

Most discussions assume that on this point of the use of violence there is a fundamental difference between the conservative and radical wings of the labor movement, and between Socialism and Communism. There are important differences between these elements, but the contention that they differ *in principle* on the use of violence, in the sense that the absolute pacifist attaches to these terms, cannot be sustained. Among the unions in the United States many of the more conservative ones practice violence in industrial disputes more extensively than radical unions. Gangsterism in the American labor world is not an invention of the Communist unions, though the latter have not refrained from employing it. The Socialist parties do not commit themselves in advance to the inevitability of violent revolution, but neither do they promise to refrain from the use of force to defend a Socialist order if they deem that necessary. If Ramsay MacDonald, for example, is to be called a pacifist because he favors the League of Nations and disarmament, though he helps to keep the British navy in trim when he is in power and tells Indian revolutionists he will have the British army shoot them down if they go too far, then it will be difficult to prove that Stalin and Litvinov are not entitled to the same designation.

All this does not mean that the labor movement is not confronted with a serious problem as to the means to which it will resort to advance its aims. Many times employers, on the one hand, and workers, on the other hand, are approached by the most crude and self-defeating psychological methods. Money is spent on gangsters, for example, that might well net a thousand fold better return if devoted to the education of workers and of the public. Violence begets violence by whomever used. War is a dirty business and entails the use of degrading means, whoever wages it.

The labor movement in New York City has recently given a striking illustration of the law upon which the pacifist so often insists that the means one uses inevitably incorporate themselves into his ends, and if evil, defeat him. Some years ago employers in the garment trades resorted to the practice of employing armed gangsters to attack peaceful picketers. It became impossible to send men and women on the picket-line to meet such brutal attacks, so the union also resorted to hiring gangsters. Once you started the practice, you had to hire gangsters in every strike, of course. Thus a group of gangsters came to be a permanent part of the union machinery. Next it was easy for officers who had employed the gangsters in strikes to use these same gangsters who were on the pay-roll anyway in union elections to insure continued tenure to the "machine." The next step in the "descent to Avernus" was for the gangsters on whom the administration depended for its tenure of office to make themselves the administration, the union "machine." In the meantime the union gangsters naturally came to a gentleman's agreement with those hired by the employer, so that both sides were paying out large sums of money to gangsters no longer doing any decisive work in strikes or lockouts; both sides had likewise to pay graft to the police so that they would not interfere with their private armies; and the rank and file of union members, having come to look to gangsters to do the real picketing, no longer had the desire, courage or morale to picket peacefully, appeal to strike-breakers to join them, and so on. The whole process, working itself out so fatally and from the aesthetic viewpoint so beautifully, had not a little to do with the deterioration undergone by these unions of which the bitter left-right factional strife was rather a symptom than a cause.

THOSE who can bring themselves to renounce wealth, position and power accruing from a social system based on violence and putting a premium on acquisitiveness, and to identify themselves in some real fashion with the struggle of the masses toward the light, may help in a measure, more doubtless by life than by words, to devise a more excellent way, a technique of social progress less crude, brutal, costly and slow than mankind has yet evolved.

Not in the Headlines

Healing Nicaraguan Wounds

The Emergency Committee on United States Policy in Nicaragua has decided to heal some of the wounds inflicted by the American marines in the Caribbean. In a recent meeting at least \$100 were voted to the students at the University of Leon to restore books, medical apparatus and other equipment destroyed by the marines while occupying the Central Building of the University.

The Concentration of Power

The national Committee on Coal and Giant Power, with headquarters in New York, stated that during 1927 control of the power industry had been concentrated through 828 utility consolidations. Eighty per cent of the national production is now in the hands of fifteen holding and operating groups. This amounts to 60 billion kilowatt hours out of 75.1 billion produced in 1927. The first five companies, the committee stated, control half of the whole production. These include the Electric Bond and Share, Insull, Northeastern, North American, and the Byllesby interests.

Spain's New Naval Program

Following the recent understanding with Italy on maritime strength in the Mediterranean waters, Spain has authorized the expenditure of 600,000,000 pesetas for a naval building program. Spain's annual navy appropriation is 164,000,000 pesetas. The reason for trebling her naval appropriations has been kept secret. Premier Primo de Rivera declares that it is solely for the purpose of providing adequate protection to the Spanish coast line and not prompted by imperialistic ambitions.

Phi Kappa Delta's Race Discrimination

Phi Kappa Delta is a national honorary forensic fraternity. Kendrick Grobel, senior in Yankton College, was invited to become a member. Shortly before initiation Grobel declined the honor. He had discovered that the fraternity excluded Negroes from membership. As a protest against this practice Grobel declined to join.

Will Germany Abolish the Death Penalty?

Germany has recently had her Sacco-Vanzetti case. A laborer, Jakubowski, was accused of the murder of his four-year-old son and despite numerous appeals and some very doubtful testimony was legally executed by decapitation. Now it is fairly certain that the man was innocent. The legal murder has raised an enormous commotion and the demand has become insistent that the death penalty be abolished. At the next Reichstag a bill to that effect will be introduced.

England's Sacco-Vanzetti Case

Oscar Slater languished in a Scottish prison for eighteen years. He had been convicted of murder and robbery, and the death penalty had been commuted to life imprisonment because strong doubt and uncertainty persisted in England as to his guilt. The Sacco-Vanzetti killings last year recalled the case to the British. Re-examination followed and the Scottish Court of Appeals set him free. Parliament is expected to make a compensation in money to him—for eighteen lost years of life spent in prison!

Educating America on Gas Warfare

The American Chemical Society and the National Association for Chemical Defense have taken up the cudgels for the use of gas in warfare. These organizations have inaugurated a "campaign of education" designed to induce a better understanding of the necessity of gas preparedness. The *Army and Navy Journal* finds this activity most desirable, because "whenever gas is mentioned, a wave of public hysteria sweeps the country."

Peace Bulletin Board

On a busy corner in Flushing, N. Y., where four roads meet, the first peace bulletin board in the world has been erected. As the motorists stop in obedience to the traffic whistle, they read its message set forth in letters of red, white and blue: "WAR CAN BE PREVENTED. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS ORGANIZED TO PREVENT WAR. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD JOIN THE LEAGUE. WHY? WRITE TO P. O. BOX 157, FLUSHING, N. Y." The bulletin board is 12 feet high and 50 feet long and was built and will be maintained for months at the expense of \$900. The Flushing Branch of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association sponsored the venture.

Japanese Students Near Riot

At Waseda University a mass meeting of 1,000 students broke into excited agitation against the reactionary attitude of the institution. The meeting had been called by the Oratorical Society of the school to protest the "acceptance of the resignation" of Professor Ikuo Oyama. Professor Oyama had been chairman of the Labor-Farmer Party until its disbanding by the police and was gaining in influence among the students as a leader of radical thought. The student program includes the demands for independence of learning, freedom of research work, freedom of speech and independence of the university. The movement has spread to other schools and a governmental investigation is promised.

Religion in Japanese Schools?

The authorities of the Japanese Ministry of Education are urging educators to invite prominent religious workers to deliver religious lectures to students in all public and private schools as a measure to bolster the wholesome character of young men and women in Japan. By the Order of August 3, 1899, religious "education" is barred in practically all schools. The religious lectures urged are not thought to interfere with that order.

Aid to Mothers and Dependent Children

The Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor has recently made its report on public aid to mothers with dependent children. Laws authorizing assistance from public funds for dependent children in their own homes had been adopted by 42 States, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii. The only States in which such laws have not now been adopted are Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, New Mexico, and South Carolina. It is estimated that at this time, on any one date, approximately 200,000 children are receiving public aid in their own homes.

Is Western Civilization Worth Saving?

PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP

THE path of history is strewn with dead civilizations. Today they are all as "a tale that is told." Each of them, it is true, has made its contribution to world-civilization, but the civilizations themselves are irrevocably gone. Each was in turn superseded and vanquished by another.

The worth of any civilization consists in its ability increasingly to understand and to further the conscious, subconscious, and unconscious purposes of the world-process. Since man is the highest product of the creative world-process, the worth of any civilization consists primarily in its ability to understand and to further the processes involved in the making and highest possible development of man and of human society, and secondarily, in its ability to understand and to further the processes of physical nature.

The question before us is this: What is western civilization doing to understand and further the highest possible development of man? The optimist—and most men, especially in America, seem to be optimists—will at once want the privilege of the floor. He will say that man has made more progress in the last four or five decades than in all the previous time of his existence, certainly more than in all previous known history. He will point to the scientific, mechanical, industrial and economic achievements which surpass the most daring imagination of yesterday. He will call our attention to achievements of understanding such as those resulting from the ever more perfected educational systems and standards the world over, those of universal suffrage, or the governmental campaigns against illiteracy, of multiplied newspapers, magazines, and so forth. Beyond these he will point to the actual lengthening of the span of human life, to the conquest of disease, the shortening of the day of labor, and the consequent lengthening of the day for purposes of personal enrichment along physical, cultural or other digressional lines of activity; he will mention World Court, League of Nations, international amity, the gradual disappearance of such human curses as alcohol, the getting together of demominations and what not. In closing his argument he will utter his disgust with anyone who is so blind that he cannot see all these so very apparent benefits of western civilization, who will stop to ask such a foolish and senseless question as the one proposed by the title of this essay. And—with the exception of the last remark—I shall practically have to agree with him.

That is to say, the optimist has spoken the truth,

but not all of the truth. There is distinctly another side to this story of man's unparalleled achievements. The fact is, the pessimist not only can tell, but has told us a story no less convincing and—strange to say—no less truthful. He points to the fact that after a century and a half of energy constantly directed toward the establishment, development, and safeguarding of the principle of democracy in government, one nation after the other of our enlightened European neighbors is turning back toward autocracy. He declares that the most deadly war, the most horrible spectacle of manslaughter, did not occur in yonder far away days of barbarism and human savagery, but in our own civilized twentieth century. He points out, as we have already admitted, that science instead of putting man or the child "in the midst" is dehumanizing the universe in behalf of unknown quantities. He calls our attention to the fact that the more civilized we become the more crimes we seem to commit. That the home, the family-life, the rearing of children is breaking down. That education is mass-instruction with its attendant necessities of losing sight of the individual and therefore of the only thing which can really be educated, namely, the personality. That, everywhere, we are putting quantity in place of quality, whether it be in industry, agriculture, or education. That we are insisting on tuning things down to the average instead of drawing them up to perfection and excellence.

No wonder the voices of pessimism which were but few a number of years ago are swelling into an ever mightier chorus. Voices among which must be counted such names as those of Bertrand Russell, Oswald Spengler, Dean Inge, Albert Schweitzer, Edward Carpenter, Upton Sinclair, H. L. Mencken, and Sinclair Lewis. One of our own Americans has recently pointed out that among lower nervous organizations the spirit of pioneering, of adventure and discovery dies out; that such organizations are dependent and seek uniformity; that they huddle together in cities and expect the government to "love, cherish, and protect" them; that such life characterized not only Rome in the days of its decline, but characterizes the English-speaking race today.

LET us briefly look at some of the ways in which the decay appears today. Instead of speaking of a large number of things, I want to limit myself to two fields in which I can speak from the inside and therefore with at least some authority. There are

two fields especially, which are of the highest importance: education and religion.

The outstanding charges against education and religion can be put in very brief fashion. Both religion and education (lower as well as higher) have become almost wholly institutionalized. And institutions (when old and respected—not to say “respectable”!) seem to be interested in only two things which are really identical: self-perpetuation and the perpetuation of the status quo in everything around them.

Are there any agencies of human life and endeavor which more rightfully should be and could be expected to be the fearless guides into the new and unknown than education and religion? Nevertheless these very two have come to be, on the whole, the most powerful enemies and retarders of human progress and advance.

I say “have come to be” and not “are.” There is a vast difference between these two assertions. Religion and education are not in themselves the enemies of progress. They are the most obvious banner-carriers and vanguards of progress. But what religion and education have come to be is a very different thing.

Take but one aspect of contemporary religion—and one with which every school-boy in America has some sort of familiarity—fundamentalism. Fundamentalism is at heart nothing but the fear of being free as the sons of God. It means being afraid to walk out into the world as men and women of this age to conquer it for the best and the truest in human life with today's knowledge and methods and outlook. It is the fear to stand on one's own feet and the insistence that we must have the authority of hoary age. It implies the absurd notion of a God who spoke twenty centuries ago, and having had his say has nothing more to tell his children of the twentieth century.

Fundamentalism is to be found in many other fields of human interest and endeavor besides religion. Our age has called upon education to “maintain the status quo.” The educator who dares to show the road ahead or to blaze a new trail is quite generally “undesirable” and soon finds himself looking for a new position. Recall such cases as those of former Presidents Meiklejohn of Amherst and Suzzalo of the University of Washington! The economist and the historian have to be as much stand-patters today as the teacher of religion and of philosophy had to be yesterday. Many colleges and universities have now granted absolute freedom of teaching in religion and in philosophy but are exceedingly afraid in economics or in history. These schools are perfectly willing to disregard the religious fanatic or stand-patter, but they dare not yet face the protest of a suspicious public which sees treason to the nation lurking behind every statement of historic truth. Witness, for example, the drive against certain textbooks in his-

tory in our public schools. The argument against these books is not that they do not tell the truth, but that—telling the truth—they do not make for “patriotism.”

In other words, we are more interested in preserving the status quo, in pouring everybody into the same mold, than we are in finding the truth and telling it. This is fundamentalism in education with a vengeance. And there is enough of it to warrant the charge that education, too, has come to be one of the most dangerous foes of progress.

THUS one might go on—endlessly. But there is no need of further reiteration. Suffice it here to ask: Wherein is our gain? First of all, in a commercializing and materializing of everything which once was sacred, lofty, and sublime. Our chief measure of values has come to be the almighty dollar. This is an inevitable result of our insipid over-emphasis on things.

Secondly, in an emphasis upon material comforts to the appalling exclusion of mental effort. On this point one of our great editors reminds us that Americans have more comforts and conveniences than were to be found in the courts of kings and of emperors two centuries ago. Instead of setting us free to accomplish more intellectually and morally this has led to the all but complete abdication of thought and reason. Newspapers and movies have become the sources of our information and understanding.

Next, in an emphasis upon rapidity of motion. This is such an obvious fact in our modern life that it seems superfluous to talk about it. One should imagine that this would enable one to live a more serviceable and helpful, and therefore a richer and more abundant life. On the contrary, it gives us the appearance of being busier, though we are not getting anything done that is intrinsically worth while. Nothing but lost motion. We are in the plight of the man in the rag-time hit: “I don't know where I'm going, but I'm on my way.”

What is true of transportation is true of our methods of communication. The telephone, telegraph, wireless and radio make possible an uncanny speed of communication. But what is it that we have to communicate? Stock and bond quotations, football scores, world series results, jazz-music, and bed-time stories. Once in a great while we get an opera star over the radio, and once in a greater while we may possibly hear a lecture worth listening to, but such occasions are merely the proverbial exceptions which prove the rule. Professor Craig, head of the English department of the State University of Iowa, has recently been reported as saying: “Plato and Aristotle did not have long distance telephones or radio to talk from New York to San Francisco, but they had infinitely more worth while things to say than we have.”

Materialism is putting the emphasis on that which may be human, but which is not the primary, not the most important factor in human life. That which is most distinctively human in us is not our body, however highly we may prize it. There is, of course, no escaping the fact that as to our body we belong wholly and completely in the animal realm. But things which cause us to be like the animals are not the things which cause us to be different from the animals. The distinctively and peculiarly human characteristics of man, therefore, need not be looked for in the purely animal side of man—Watson to the contrary notwithstanding. What differentiates man from everything else is his power of reflective thinking, his intellectual, spiritual, moral, religious nature, his mind, soul, self, ego, consciousness or whatever you care to call it. I'll not dispute the name, but I will insist on the fact. It is strange that a man should ever be called upon to insist on the one fact of his experience which is the most obvious and distinctive of all, even if this fact does not lend itself to the analysis of the microscope, the test-tube, or the telescope. For why should man ever refuse to acknowledge the one fact in his life which lifts him out of the realm of "mere things"? Even if he cannot scientifically explain this fact. For if he really follows the spirit of science, he must admit the presence of all available facts and data whether or not he is able definitely and scientifically to account for them. That the intellectual-moral-spiritual-religious side of man is his most characteristic possession certainly no one but a fool would deny.

Now it is precisely this most distinctively human factor which western civilization has been setting aside, putting things instead in the center of human striving. As Mr. Strauss recently put it: "Things are in the saddle!" We have been selling our human birthright for the things of the mind and of the spirit for the mess of pottage of material achievements and mechanical accomplishments.

Whatever of hope there may be for western civilization cannot be found in any belief in inevitable progress and certainly not in the vain arrogance of the nordic supremacy complex. We are no more the chosen people of any deity playing favorites than any other nationality or race, past or present. We are chosen as were the Hebrews only in so far as we lose ourselves in these activities and tasks which, in the nature of the world-process or, if you will, of the divine purpose, carry on the constant evolution of world-creation. In so far as we block the road of that process, we must expect it to overrule and overpower and, if need be, ultimately to annihilate us—not as the punishment of an angry God, but as the inevitable consequence of ignorance, unwillingness or inability to learn the workings of the world-process.

THE important thing for us at this time is the return to a new emphasis on the humanities which might stave off the debacle of western civilization a little longer. Nothing can be reached by a continued one-sided emphasis on the physical sciences but the impasse of a pure mechanism and with it the ruin of western culture. For the salvation of the western world there is needed a good dose of the quietistic reflection and self-control of the oriental mind, even as the oriental cannot hope to survive unless he adopts something of the mechanical achievement of the occidental. In other words, we need not merely respect for the distinctive features and characteristics of the cultures which digress fundamentally from our own, but the realization that each must learn from the other. And the acknowledgment that only by a reciprocal approach and a filling up of the gaps of our own character can we hope to "hang on." As Max Scheler and Count Keyserling have put it, what is needed is "a reconciliation between the occidental and the oriental cultural hemispheres." Thus, perhaps, the western man may once again find his soul and survive.

Ice Age

THEN came the Age of Ice—earth's vast White Terror,

Out of the evil empire of the North;
It sent the terrible winds with icy bludgeons
And all the Cossacks of the glaciers forth.

Stupid and stolid with a dull precision
Its armies in their silver uniform
Came marching, marching South like ambulant boulders
With the white goose-step of a fossil storm.

It set its iron heel upon the roses
And winter's law and order on the corn;
It silenced with a censorship of silver
The tocsin of Niagara's bugle-horn.

Yet now, where once it sets its quaint taboo,
Red chanticleer chants *cockadoodledoo!*

E. MERRILL ROOT.

The Good Shepherd

I HAVE been told
On a mountain steep
A Shepherd smiled as He heard the sheep
Debate if the black ones or the white
He would admit to the fold
That night.

—KENNETH W. PORTER.

The Literacy Test

MARY FAGIN

THE records at Ellis Island tell many stories. Most of them are sad. They are stories of human lives beating against bars. Occasionally, irony relieves the solemn tragedy. The operations of the literacy test, for instance, as a means of sifting human values are especially full of ironic quirks. The following record, supplemented by personal observation, tells Feiga Stipelman's story.

Feiga was twenty-five, plain-looking and wholesome. She arrived at Ellis Island in September and was admitted in September—of the following year. During the long interval she was twice placed on board departing liners and each time taken off and brought back to Ellis Island on a writ of habeas corpus. The girl could not pass the literacy test. She was excluded, ordered to be deported, re-examined, re-excluded, and again re-examined and finally admitted.

This is the bare outline of Feiga Stipelman's official story. Her own story is fuller, and the shadow of irony is visible behind it.

"Hello, Feiga!" greeted an elderly guard, as he passed the detention quarters and noticed Feiga in the doorway.

"Hello," she answered quietly, and her melancholy eyes watched him disappear down the corridor. She remained in the doorway waiting.

"How is Feiga feeling today?" a social worker, rushing by with some papers, called to her, but did not wait for her answer.

"Goot, danks," Feiga answered anyway. She remained waiting.

"How-yel!" a matron waved a friendly hand.

Feiga's hands spread in an eager response—and she remained waiting.

"Feiga still here?" a charwoman, bent over her mop, smiled at the patiently waiting figure.

Feiga responded with a smile, a pale, vague apology of a smile: the question had not been clear to her.

And this was a typical day in Feiga's life at Ellis Island. Questions and answers; non-committal greetings; perplexity and an eternal waiting. New immigrants came and went. Cheerful faces, despondent faces—they changed rapidly, perpetually. Feiga alone remained—waiting.

Sometimes a fellow-alien wondered at Feiga's popularity. She seemed to know everybody and everybody knew her. As though she had always been at Ellis Island, as though the dreaded strip of land within view of the Statue of Liberty was her home.

One day a girl was curious. She was a tall, slim girl, with curly hair and crimson cheeks and lips. She was disdainfully curious. "Looks like you know everybody," she leered significantly. "How did you make them like you like that?"

"Don't you know that I am Feiga, the famous Feiga?" came the modest, tolerant answer. "Woe to me with my fame!" she added bitterly.

"Famous!" repeated the crimson lips. "You famous! What for?" Her amused glance measured Feiga's plump figure and plain dress. Her own slenderness was clad in dainty silks and ruffles.

Feiga stuttered for a moment. "My dear, I—" And then she laughed. A harsh, unpleasant laugh.

Her interlocutor became irritated. "Stop that!" she commanded. "What are you laughing at? What do you mean famous? What are you trying to show off? How can an article like you be famous?"

Feiga's laugh broke. She became sad and serious. "What I mean?" she cried. Her hands flew out in desperate gestures. "Just look at me!" she pounded her chest. "I am such a big, husky girl, am I not, and yet I can't read. That is, I couldn't," she quickly corrected herself, "when I arrived a year ago. Yes, I know what you are thinking of an article like me, but it's true. I couldn't read a word." Feiga's hands fell limp at her sides. She bent her head in shame.

"Well, what is the calamity?" The contempt of the crimson lips was still unabated. "One would think you were a cripple, the way you carry on."

Feiga's excitement returned. "What's the calamity? you ask. Just listen and I'll tell you my calamity. It seems nothing to others who can read and write, but to me not to be able to read is worse than being a cripple. My God! not even the alphabet could I read when I came. And I have had to stay here a whole year. That's why I am famous. But now—" Her voice became jubilant. "Listen! Just listen to me."

Feiga feverishly produced a newspaper from under her arm and spread it upon a nearby table. Her face was intent and her eyes were brilliant with a holy fervor. In her shrunken gingham dress, she bent over the paper and read breathlessly. "What do you say to this?" she queried tremulously.

"And for this you have remained here a whole year?" The corners of the slim girl's mouth curled. She turned away.

"Oh, you don't understand!" Feiga blocked her way. "If I could turn myself inside out you would understand. Sit down, please. I'll tell you something.

From my very heart I'll tell you something and you will understand. Listen—"

And Feiga stood before her and talked. She talked of Bucharest, of the time when she lived at the Immigrant Aid Society's Home at Bucharest, and waited for her visa. There were many people in that home. There were poverty, and sickness, and loneliness. She made herself useful and helped as much as she could. She came to be called "kind Feiga" and "helpful Feiga" and "generous Feiga." And there was a fellow who called her "Feiga with the big heart." He was a nice fellow; his kindness was written all over his face. He left for America before she could get her visa and he promised to write to her. He more than liked her, he had said. And then his letters came and he had to have a stranger read them to her and she could not answer them. And she could not bring herself to dictate her feelings to other hands. And so he never answered him, and soon he stopped writing.

"If only I had known how to read and write then!" he exclaimed passionately, her eyes filling with tears. She changed the subject. She spoke of the shame and humiliation she was subjected to upon her arrival at Ellis Island. She was suspected of being abnormal because she could not read. She had to convince them that she had a brain, that she was not able to read only because she had never been given a chance to learn.

A tinge of sympathy at last lightened her fair listener's face. "I understand," she said. "They tried to scare me too with their tests, but I am just as smart as anybody. They gave me blocks to put together so they would fit, but I told them that I never played with such things. I am no child. And they asked me if I knew who governs Russia now, but what do I care who governs Russia! I am not interested in that. And they have kept me here for two weeks with these childish games and questions. But I am going out this afternoon, even though I never fitted their blocks or answered their questions."

Feiga gasped: "You mean you don't know who governs Russia, and you couldn't—"

"Don't interrupt me now!" the strange girl snapped impatiently. "And I want to tell you that I'll be married before you," she continued relevantly, "even though you are so bright and know everything and you have even learned to read. The fellow who is going to marry me has spent quite some money to get me out of this dump. He told me that my staying here has cost him a thousand dollars. You won't catch me staying here a year. I knew how to read when I was a little girl and I've never forgotten it. I am going out this afternoon."

She got up and proudly, without so much as a parting word, walked away.

Feiga remained dazed. "That face," she murmured, wondering that she hadn't been able to see through its blankness. But she had no time to waste in wondering at blank faces, nor at the mysterious workings of Ellis Island. She would soon be called to her final literacy test. She looked into her newspaper and waited.

Proud People

LET them lift their brows at the simple things you know,

Let them turn to smile at the little love-names you call,

They are more eager to hide the things in their hearts,
That is all;

They are children dressed up in stiff robes and crowns
Pretending they will not be children ever and ever again,

That they never could laugh aloud at a foolish thing,
or cry

At a stab of pain;

Oh be gentle with such! They have much to hide;
If you should find by some cruel small chance the key
The boy would be sobbing to find his father's arms
again

And the girl her mother's knee.

MARGARET WIDDEMER.

Zeb Kinney on Feminism

I TELL you broody hens don't lay no eggs.

You girls can talk till doomsday tellin' me
About the things you want to paint and write,—
But all the time they's something on your mind.

It ain't the same with Waugh and Dougherty:

Let Waugh get started any afternoon

When they's an undertow a-runnin' strong

Enough to make the ocean buckle under,

And I don't s'pose the most upstandin' girl

That rusticates round here could make him budge.

But you girls stand with one eye on your paintin',

The other on the fellers passin' by,

A-sayin' to yourself, 'I wonder who

That youngster might be standin' over there;

I wonder if that older one is married.'

That's why your pictures ain't like Waugh's and
Dougherty's,—

Their waves is waves, but yours is sort o' mongrel,

Half waves and half a-longin' for the fellers.

I tell you broody hens don't lay no eggs."

—WILBERT SNOW.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

How to Throw Your Vote Away

IN this important problem there are various procedures, but the gist of them all is this: on election day seek the nearest voting booth, mark a ballot with crosses opposite the names of electors representing any political party, and drop your ballot in the box. You will have thus accomplished your purpose.

If you are inveigled by ballyhoo, however, into voting for a candidate who does not stress basic economic, social and international changes of policy, you are not only throwing away your ballot—you are throwing yourself away with your vote. For even though your choice must lie between voting fruitlessly for a possible winner or courageously for a certain loser, a gallant attempt to understand the reasons underlying the prophetic points of view set forth by minority political groups will add to your mental stature and your social usefulness as a citizen. After all, though they may not be apparent to those who give heed only to the pleas of the old parties, there are issues in this campaign and plenty of them.

For that reason, out of several books dealing with the presidential election, I place first *The American Labor Year Book* for 1928. Unlike previous editions of this valuable reference work, the book in this election year contains a wealth of highly important data on the political issues involved in labor problems, industry, agriculture, and foreign relations. Here in brief space and yet amazingly full detail are highly enlightening facts about power, railroads, coal, radio, tariff, oil, productivity, injunctions, wages, living costs, unemployment, child labor, Negro workers, distribution of wealth and income, immigration, race problems, housing, farm relief, civil liberties, investments abroad, disarmament, Russia, the Dawes Plan, the League, imperialism, and what not. The point of view is radical. The factual material I believe to be reliable. Of course it is not the easiest of reading; some of the panegyrics on Hoover and Smith, in comparison, read like the *Arabian Nights* (and why shouldn't they?). It contains, however, the issues that most matter to the most people; and for \$2.50 you will not find its equal for immediate and post-election use. The Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th St., New York City, will cheerfully fill your order.

There is no yearbook which frankly puts forward the things of chief interest to those who do not see labor as an important interest at all. There are several books which, if not so frankly, may yet serve fairly well. Two of these are *The Republican Party* and *The Democratic Party*, published by the Century Company at \$5 apiece. There is a difference between the books, as indeed between the parties. For example, the Republicans are written up by William Starr Myers and the Democrats by Frank R. Kent. Furthermore, the first volume has a yellow jacket with an elephant and the second a blue jacket with a donkey. In each case, be it noted, the cost to the people is the same. Both Professor Myers and Newspaperman Kent are readable writers, and each wants to be fair to his rival party. Both argue from essentially

the same facts, and yet, to take an example, Mr. Kent thinks Tilden was elected fairly in 1876, while Professor Myers considers the election of Hayes justified. These books are verily worthwhile both as examples of what politics does and is, and actually of value for a clearer comprehension of what has happened to each party—namely, how each has converted the other by its arguments (or its successes) to a resemblance which not even two vari-colored jackets can disguise.

Previously in these pages two books on Al Smith have been reviewed: *Up from the City Streets*, by Norman Hapgood and Henry Moskowitz (Harcourt, Brace and Co., \$2.50), and *Alfred E. Smith, a Critical Study*, by Henry F. Pringle (Macy-Masius, \$3.50). (See *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, February, 1928.) The former volume is more aglow with enthusiasm, and is an intimate biography; but the latter is more realistic and filled with more important details. To these should now be added *Progressive Democracy*, consisting of Governor Smith's addresses and state papers. It is edited by Mr. Moskowitz, who is a close and valuable adviser of the governor on matters of public policy. Here of course personal matters are absent; but for an understanding of the man who is perhaps New York State's greatest governor a study of these documents is essential. Smith's addresses, and for that matter his state papers, are human and as a rule crystal clear. His mind is discernible through them, and rarely does he fail to win one's respect. Some of the less desirable positions he has taken will not, however, be found in these pages; for them the seeker must go to the campaign criticisms of the minor party spokesmen. *Progressive Democracy* is published by Harcourt, Brace and Co. at \$3.

Of the books concerning Mr. Hoover, easily the best is William Hard's *Who's Hoover?* (Dodd, Mead and Co., \$2.50). Hard is frankly a Hoover admirer, but is not quite totally uncritical. It is not among the unconverted, however, that Mr. Hard's book is likely to win Hoover adherents. To be sure, he makes highly attractive those qualities of persistence, business accuracy, machine-like efficiency, and reliability in getting needed things well done that everyone concedes to the Republican candidate. But Mr. Hard also expatiates warmly upon his individualism, his belief in equality of opportunity (meaning the opportunity of struggle), and his tenacity to old faiths; and to those who have come to emphasize human values first and material efficiency less, Mr. Hard unwittingly builds up a terrifying figure. "In temper he loves to stick to a rock and be washed only by familiar waves." There are those who will cheer for anyone of this temper. There are not a few who will inevitably feel that such a temper, backed by similar social convictions, is not the greatest need of American life in the next four years. The turning of waste into profits may be important for the United States; but the turning of profits into the pockets of the many, instead of building up the fortunes of the few—there is nothing in Mr. Hard's *Herbert Hoover* that will give confidence of such an aim in his life to anyone not already a member of the Old Guard religion.

Less fearsome, if less colorful and cleverly portrayed, is *Herbert Hoover* as seen by his friend Will Irwin, in an out-and-out friendly biography. For a book hurriedly written, in order to beat the Kansas City cohorts to Hoover's nomination, it is a thorough piece of work. You may know more about the actual Hoover from Mr. Irwin's less racy paragraphs; but again I insist that the net effect will depend upon your personal conception of values. Values, certainly, Hoover has; the question is, are these the ones you want? As one who will not vote for Mr. Hoover, I urge all those who expect to vote for him to read these books. This is just my little underhanded trick to reduce his voting strength on next November fourth. Irwin's apostrophe may be had of the Century Co. for \$3.

It is symptomatic of American politics that no book is available setting forth the life and works of the minority party candidates, none, for example, of that third party leader, Norman Thomas. It is about these candidates, to be sure, that the general public knows least, and therefore regarding whom biographies are most important. But that is how politics is politicked. It may be an \$11,000,000 campaign, but when it is all over only a few will have the remotest idea of what has actually been going on. Well, perhaps it's not unlike freezing to death: numbness gives relief from pain.

D. A.

The Winged Horse

OF books popularizing the knowledge which was once the exclusive possession of the few there seems to be no end. The story of philosophy has been told for the man in the street. Mr. Wells preceded Will Durant and set the fashion by writing and slightly corrupting history so that it would fit a theory and serve as entertainment. Hendrik van Loon tried the same job for little children and succeeded fairly well. His similar effort in behalf of the Bible was less convincing. All the arts have found their popularizers. Perhaps it is natural that America should be a great market for such popularizations. Our newly acquired wealth has given many people leisure and a desire for culture who lack the equipment for appropriating anything but predigested pabulum. Waldo Frank recently pointed out the peril to real culture in these efforts to make the treasures of the spirit available for those who run and read. The profound dramas of history and literature are touched up to obscure their profundity and multiply their thrills. Simple generalizations are made which do violence to the facts, as all generalizations must.

Yet it would be dangerous to generalize about these various experiments. *The Winged Horse*, by Joseph Auslander and Frank Ernest Hill, a history of English poetry, written first of all for children, is valuable for all who desire a simple account of English poetry. The story centers pretty much in the major poets. The relation of their life to their work is admirably portrayed. The book abounds in fresh insights and balanced judgments. If it is meant for children it presupposes a high degree of child intelligence. Several chapters on the beginnings of poetry in Greece and Rome precede the account of English poetry. There are no violent prejudices in the book such as characterize and mar many literary criticisms. The authors know how to be just to Walt Whitman without disparaging Tennyson and to appreciate Poe as well as Browning. The whole work is obviously a labor of love by men who have been greatly enriched by their intimacy with poetic thought and feeling and are anxious to share their appreciations with others.

R. N.

The Umbrian Saint

IT is high time to welcome a good life of that most Italian saint, Francis Bernardone, written by his countryman. Since Sabatier the Frenchman inaugurated the modern study, Joergensen the Dane and Father Cuthbert the Englishman have written admirable books. But to have no Italian interpretation would be sad; and of all the interesting literature evoked by the centenary just passed, this *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, by Luigi Salvatorelli, is most likely to live. English readers are fortunate to have a good translation by Eric Sutton, though much of the aroma of the original is inevitably lost.

The first striking fact is the exquisite feeling for the setting of the story. Not even Mr. Goad in his charming though biased "Franciscan Italy" has so caught the peculiar quality of Umbria in distinction to other Italian provinces: that quality, austere, linear, luminous, which made Umbria for centuries before Francis a holy land. It is too much to expect that the author should in every chapter give something fresh. He has a familiar story to tell. But an excellent trait is the entire freedom from partisanship. Salvatorelli is fair to Ugolino and Elias; to the Church, so honestly trying to accommodate an ultimate ideal of love and freedom to provisional society based on possessive human nature; to the friends who, loving Francis, yet drove him to La Verna. Nor does he blink or evade the causes of the Stigmata, like some moderns. One of the freshest chapters is that on the successive Rules, showing by what clever, gentle, insistent pressure the saint was forced to omit all the dangerous elements which to his mind had clinched the duty of the brothers, and how he retrieved himself in that Testament the question of allegiance to which was the storm centre in the tragic later story of his sons. Not even Father Cuthbert has given quite so good an analysis of the Rules.

This book naturally challenges comparison with the large volume by Signor Fortini, present Mayor of Assisi, who has taken advantage of his office to render a great service, by printing a number of documents from the archives of the commune. These throw interesting new light on the politico-economic conditions of Francis' time, and the saint can now be placed in his background as never before. But Signor Salvatorelli also has a fine and minute knowledge of contemporary history which serves him in good stead. His book is an honor to Italy. It is also eminently readable. (Published by Knopf. \$4.)

VIDA D. SCUDDER

Upton Sinclair Accuses

TEN years ago Upton Sinclair began a Socialist *Kulturgeschichte* of the United States. With *Money Writes! An Accusation*, the series comes to an end. He has examined the church, the press, the higher and lower schools, and literature and found them wanting. Sinclair always marshals a great many facts, interesting, important, and generally neglected facts. He has his own point of view and philosophy. (I really ought to say "bias" or "prejudice," for Secretary Mellon has a "philosophy," but Upton Sinclair has a "Socialist bias.") With this one may agree or not. I think it makes little difference. Sinclair's great contribution lies in making accessible an important body of facts which nobody can afford to neglect. His latest volume in this series, for instance, is packed with information about contemporary writers. On the significance of these facts many of his most devoted readers will differ. They will have a harder time to dispute or deny them. (Published by Albert and Charles Boni, \$2.50.)

H. C. E.

Diplomatic Adventures

"THE result was that I lost the position both of Senator and Secretary." Thus wrote John Sherman of Ohio, who had been kicked upstairs in order to make room for Mark Hanna in the Senate and shortly thereafter had practically been compelled to resign as Secretary of State. The details of this important episode and a hundred others are given in *Adventures in American Diplomacy*, by Professor Alfred L. P. Dennis. The period covered is that from 1896 to 1906, during which time the United States emerged as a Great Power. Hitherto unpublished material deals with the Venezuelan Dispute, the Spanish-American War, Hawaii and Samoa, the Panama Canal, the Boxer Uprising, the Russo-Japanese War, the Algeiras Conference, etc. This is a most interesting and highly significant volume. (Published by Dutton, \$5.) K. P.

The George Washington of China

SUN YAT-SEN may also be called the Lenin of China. Beyond question he was the most important figure in the Chinese revolution. Since his death in 1925 his influence has increased rapidly and his words now possess magic power in many quarters. Like Lenin he is in process of being canonized by his devoted followers. Fortunately the main outlines of his three principles are now available in English in a volume of more than 500 pages entitled *San Min Chu I*, translated by Frank W. Price and edited by L. T. Chen. (Published by the China Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and available from The Commercial Press, Shanghai, \$4. Mexican, postage extra.) K. P.

The British Empire

ABSENT-MINDEDNESS has been diagnosed as the basis of the British Empire. This profitable disease has united half the world under the Union Jack. But the ways of diseases are often inscrutable. Is this same absent-mindedness today destroying the empire on which the sun never sets? For before our very eyes a small group of self-governing Dominions are taking for themselves the lead in the affairs of state. They will no longer be part of the "British Empire"; they constitute the "British Commonwealth of Nations." They turn up their noses at the suggestion of an imperial tariff; they grow frigid when participation in a possible Turkish war is mentioned; they veto the Geneva Protocol of 1924; they insert Article IX in the Locarno pact, exempting them from obligatory participation in the guarantee given to France; they sit on the League Council and vote against measures sponsored by England; they register their treaties with the mother country with the League; they are trying hard to develop their own foreign policies. And yet every one of the Dominions is a second or third rate power which would have but little influence in world affairs as a separate entity.

Here is the strangest *reductio ad absurdum* of imperialism ever witnessed in history. Colonies, as we all know, exist for the mother country. Yet here quite evidently the mother country exists for the "colonies." Further developments may well be left to the future. For the present situation the Norman Wait Harris Lectures collected under the title *Great Britain and the Dominions* are highly illuminating. (Published by the University of Chicago Press, \$3.) H. C. E.

BETTER BOOKS for ALL-ROUND READING

The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine, by Alice Felt Tyler. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1927. 6 x 8. 411 pages. \$3.50. Contains important data concerning the early stages of Pan-Americanism and the advance of the United States toward imperialism.

Studies in Early Christianity, Edited by S. J. Case. New York: The Century Company, 1928. 6¼ x 9. 467 pages. \$4.50. A valuable series of essays by a group of distinguished scholars, although many of the chapters are highly technical in character.

The Ancient World and Its Legacy to Us, by A. W. F. Blunt. New York: Oxford Press, 1928. 5¼ x 7¾. 216 pages. \$1.50. An authoritative story written in a fascinating manner.

American Neutrality and International Police, by Philip C. Jessup. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1928. 5½ x 8. 170 pages. \$30 paper. A significant discussion of sea law.

Trevy the River, by Leslie Reid. New York: Dutton, 1928. 5½ x 7¾. 299 pages. \$2.50. A beautifully written story of a man's love for a river.

Machine-Gun Diplomacy, by J. A. H. Hopkins and Melinda Alexander. New York: Lewis Copeland Company, 1928. 5½ x 7¾. \$2.50. Hot shots at our foreign policy.

Lords of the Wild, by Samuel Scoville, Jr. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1928. 5 x 7¾. 246 pages. \$2. More of this fascinating naturalist's unique animal tales.

Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Hugh Martin. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1928. 5¼ x 7¾. 242 pages. \$2. Essays of varying brilliance, on some great spirits less well known than they ought to be: William Wilberforce, Anthony Cooper, Florence Nightingale, George Cadbury, Keir Hardie, and others.

Hymen, or The Future of Marriage, by Norman Haire. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1928. 4½ x 6¼. 78 pages. \$1. A rather breath-taking but by no means fantastic peep into a possible future, by a respected British liberal physician. Everything from eugenics to ectogenesis.

Walt, by Elizabeth Corbett. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1928. 5 x 7½. 331 pages. \$2.50. A new-style biography, consisting of dramatized conversations between the good gray poet and those who influenced him along his pathway. It succeeds pretty well in conveying those subtler qualities more formal books miss.

Columbus, by Marius Andre. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. 5½ x 9. 288 pages. \$5. The deflation of history continues. This book is remarkable for its lightning-like flashes of character revelation. "Christopher Columbus, unscrupulous charlatan and inspired poetic dreamer—a lesser, a greater, and an incomparably more interesting figure than the sentimentalized hero of the world's schoolbooks."

CORRESPONDENCE

Praising the American Peace Society

THOSE who have followed the discussions regarding the American Peace Society will appreciate, I trust, the following extract (for which I am indebted to *The Messenger of Peace*) from an editorial in *The Review of Reviews* for June:

... our Marines are doing police work for the sake of preventing war, or of mitigating its horrors. The Marine Corps has become an official American peace society. . . . Everything we are doing in Nicaragua is in the most explicit accord with all that is practical and intelligent in the program of the American Peace Society. D. A.
New York City.

The Trial of Fred R. Marvin

IN your August issue you print under the caption, "Wanted: a New Scandal Expert," what purports to be true and fair comment on the recent trial of the suit for libel by Rosika Schwimmer against Fred R. Marvin and the Commercial Publishing Company.

You do, however, truly state that Mr. Marvin "has been proclaimed as the most reliable and as the best informed man in the United States on radical and subversive movements." Mr. Marvin still occupies that same status in the conservative opposition to radicalism and subversivism. Nothing which transpired at the trial of the Schwimmer case diminishes Mr. Marvin's high reputation for accurate knowledge of the genesis, ramifications and objectives of subversivism in all its phases—Bolshevism, Communism, Socialism, Anarchism, "Liberalism," Atheism, Pacifism, Slackerism, Companionate marriages, Free-love, Hypocrisy, Moral Bankruptcy and General Human Back-slipping to a point of degeneration never experienced in history—if we except the Russian cataclysm and the French Revolutionary period. Mr. Marvin has written and lectured for years exposing the true positions of subversive individuals and groups, and in all those years of intensive activity it has been possible to get only one action for libel to "stick" even temporarily, and it is poor judgment on your part to crow over first blood in that case, which, I assure you, is still in its early stages of procedure. As trial counsel I refrain from confiding to you my conclusions concerning the eventual outcome of the appeal which the defendants will take from the verdict of the lower court. I believe that I know something about the dupes, adepts, instigators, agitators and instruments as well as groups, organizations and parties engaged in subversivism, together with their methods and objectives, and I do not hesitate to assert that Mr. Marvin has well gained his high repute for knowledge, accuracy, self-sacrifice and courage in his opposition to the program of the various and varied radical elements.

The verdict in the Schwimmer case in no way discredited Mr. Marvin. Nor did he admit, as you say in your article, that the Lusk report was not trustworthy. What he did admit was that the Lusk report covers a great deal of ground and that it may contain some errors which, while unfortunate, are infrequent, and in no way make the report unreliable, and that the repeal of the "Lusk Laws" does not reflect on the report of the Lusk Committee, as the laws had no connection with the report itself.

"His lawyer, Mr. Joseph T. Cashman, of the National Security League" did not admit that "some of the statements against her (Mrs. Schwimmer) were lies." What his lawyer did admit, and what he has stated to associates of her legal force, was that at

the time that the articles concerning the plaintiff were written Mr. Marvin had believed them to be true and that he had relied upon a report of a special committee of the New York State Legislature for their truth, and that in making them he had so stated in his articles, naming the page of the report and using quotation marks to identify definitely the exact words used. And the law of this State is that no action can be prosecuted against a reporter, editor or publisher for doing what Mr. Marvin did in that case.

If it is libelous to write of a person that he is a Bolshevik, then it is equally libelous if the word Communist or Socialist is used. On page 129 of Morris Hillquit's book "From Marx to Lenin," that Socialist leader says:

"In Russia the Socialists are in possession of the powers of government and their immediate political task is to maintain themselves in power. In the Western countries the bourgeoisie is in political control, and the immediate political task of the workers is to wrest the power from the hands of their opponents.

And this task is by no means as simple as it appeared for a time to large sections of the international Socialist movement and particularly to the Communists of Russia."

And, again, on page 140 of the same work, Mr. Hillquit writes:

"The Russian Revolution has suddenly ushered in a new era in the Socialist program. It was the example of Soviet Russia that made possible the attempted Socialist regimes in Hungary and Finland, and to a minor extent in Germany and Austria."

And, still again, on page 141 of the same book:

"To the masses of workers and non-workers Soviet Russia is and always will be a practical demonstration of Socialism at work, and the prototype of all Socialist governments. The successes of the Russian struggle will inspire and stimulate the Socialist movement of all countries. Her failure will be direct set-backs to the whole of international Socialism."

But who of Mrs. Schwimmer's political and social views would consider it libelous to be called in writing a Socialist? And it may interest your readers to know that Mrs. Schwimmer testified at the trial that Bela Kun, the Bolshevik leader of the Hungarian Soviet, offered her a place in his government after she had served as the unaccepted Karolyi Ambassador from Hungary to Switzerland. One doesn't gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles, you know.

Furthermore, Mrs. Schwimmer testified that in 1915 she had taken messages from the German government which she had later brought to our government. If that did not make her a German agent, then I do not understand English.

Yet these two allusions to her were the ground upon which Mrs. Schwimmer based her action for libel against Mr. Marvin.

No, Mr. Marvin didn't lie; he didn't knowingly spread false accusations against Mrs. Schwimmer, and his lawyer didn't admit (and still doesn't) that "some of the statements against her were lies." To lie is knowingly to state an untruth. Mr. Marvin did not do that.

It ill becomes you to sneer at his "passing the hat for his expenses," in view of the fact that that is the unvarying practice of the radical. How much money has been raised by radicals by appeals to their sympathizers it is impossible to estimate, although one may mention various "labor defense committees," radical and pacifist "defense" funds, Sacco-Vanzetti funds, and today's papers inform us that funds were raised to prosecute the appeal of Mrs. Schwimmer from Judge Carpenter's denial of citizenship to her. And the friends of Mrs. Bailie, of Boston, recently appealed to

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The June issue is devoted to sociology and social work in honor of the fifty-fifth anniversary of the National Conference of Social Work.

Among the contributors are Frank J. Bruno, Ernest W. Burgess, Joanna C. Colcord, Thomas D. Eliot, Ernest R. Groves, Maurice J. Karpf, Stuart A. Queen, Virginia P. Robinson, E. H. Sutherland, and a score of others.

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JOSEPH T. CASHMAN.

New York City.

The Editors Reply

MR. MARVIN'S attorney takes issue with THE WORLD TOMORROW on two points. The remainder of his letter constitutes an attack on the court, the jury, and the verdict for \$17,000 libel damages.

Mr. Cashman avers, first, that Mr. Marvin did not pronounce the Lusk Report to be untrustworthy. The answer to that is the trial record:

Question: Is it (Mr. Marvin's information about Mrs. Schwimmer) reliable today?

Answer (by Mr. Marvin): One statement as quoted in the Lusk Report appears not correct.

Question: Which statement is that?

Answer: Regarding her being ambassador for Bela Kun.

And again:

Question: Did you repeat (in more recent speeches) the allegation that she was the ambassador of Bela Kun?

Answer: No.

Question: Why didn't you? (Mr. Cashman objects. Court overrules objection.)

Answer: Because I learned afterward that the statement in the Lusk Report was not well founded.

Question: Which statement?

Answer: The statement that she was an ambassador from Bela Kun.

This very statement is, as Mr. Cashman states, "one of the grounds upon which Mrs. Schwimmer based her action for libel." And Mr. Marvin himself admitted that it was "not correct" and "not well founded." Mr. Cashman's contention that "the (Lusk) laws had no connection with the report itself" is utterly groundless. Has he never seen the Lusk Report, which contains copies of the Lusk laws as measures urged on the New York Legislature for the purpose of ending the danger of subversive radicalism?

Mr. Cashman, secondly, denies the statement of THE WORLD TOMORROW that "his lawyer, . . . Mr. Cashman . . . admitted that some of the statements against her (Madame Schwimmer) were lies." The answer is again the trial record:

Question (to Marvin): *You heard your attorney* (Mr. Cashman) *addressing the jury* state that you did not charge any longer that she was an ambassador from Bela Kun to Switzerland?

Answer: Yes.

Question: When did you first find that out?

Answer: I think after this complaint was filed.

Question: That was some time in 1925?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Have you up to this time retracted that statement anywhere?

Answer: I have had no occasion to retract it.

Question: Will you answer? Have you?

Answer: I have not.

Furthermore, the truth is always adequate defense in a libel suit. For a couple of years the defense in this case rested upon the truth. But shortly before the case went to trial they paid all expenses to that date so as to enable Mr. Cashman to file a new answer, shifting his defense to "privilege." If the charges against Madame Schwimmer were not lies, why did not Mr. Cashman rely on the truth as an adequate defense?

As to the two charges against THE WORLD TOMORROW, the trial record clearly disproves them. The editorial of last month

ands as it was written. Mr. Cashman's letter, however, affords a welcome opportunity to dwell a bit further on this important trial and its significance. We should like to make the following notes:

1. No reversal of a higher court in the matter of damages can reverse Mr. Marvin's testimony under oath. *And this testimony stamps the man as one who has intentionally and purposely misquoted documents.* In the raid on the Communists at Bridgman 1922 a document was discovered containing instructions for communist agitators to combat the K. K. K. through Negro teachers, educators, liberals, etc. This document, about a page in length, was deliberately misquoted by Mr. Marvin by striking out all references to the Negro and making it apply generally to all ministers, educators, liberals, etc., to explain the "boring from within" method of the whole World Revolutionary Movement working through women's organizations, churches, schools, etc. He deliberately cancelled the word "Negro" seven times and the word "colored" three times. His admission of this in the trial is clear and unmistakable:

Question: The book says: "Nuclei of Negroes shall be established in all existing organizations." Did you intend to leave out the word "Negro"?

Answer: Yes.

Question: The document itself says: "Colored organizers . . ." Did you purposely leave out the words "colored" and "Negro"?

Answer: Yes.

2. This document, which he tampered with, is also included in *The Common Enemy*, approved by Marvin and sponsored by the D. A. R. For attacking this pamphlet with this deliberately garbled document Mrs. Bailie was expelled from the D. A. R. by its present officers.

3. Mr. Cashman states, "Nothing which transpired at the trial . . . diminishes Mr. Marvin's high reputation." In the trial, unfortunately, Mr. Marvin's own testimony brands him as highly unreliable. If anybody cares to check Mr. Marvin's reliability in general, let him look into the following: his misrepresentation of the ratio between foreign language papers and English language papers in New York City (see *Daily Data Sheet*, Nov. 19, 1927); the untruthful statement about the legendary "Kirby Page Anti-War Pledge" (see *Daily Data Sheet*, Sept. 23, 1927); the utter collapse of his charges against Frederick J. Libby when challenged to prove them (see *News Bulletin* of the N. C. P. W., Oct. 1, 1927); the gross misquotation of an editorial in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* (see Oct. and Nov., 1927). Of literally dozens of similar instances ready to hand we shall merely add the *Daily Data Sheet* for December 12, 1927. This one small sheet contains at least fifteen gross errors, inaccuracies, misquotations and evidences of stupendous ignorance. (N. B. Detailed evidence on these points is available to anyone that wants it.)

4. Let those interested also refer to Senator Walsh's (Montana) long address of Feb. 27, 1928, on the floor of the Senate exposing the activities and the unreliable character of Mr. Marvin's statements. Let them further get the *Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches for May 5, 1928 (105 East 2nd Street, New York City). These two will be of great help in understanding the man and his methods.

5. And finally, may we add that this is the man who has been called—in his own advertisement—the source of "the only complete, accurate, and trustworthy information on the radical and subversive forces, agencies, movements, organizations, and individuals"; that this is the man whose materials Reserve Officers, D. A. R., Scabbard and Blade, and professional patriots gener-

ally cite as their Bible. We repeat what Mr. Cashman misunderstood in our editorial: We believe that for all intelligent and informed people Mr. Marvin is now thoroughly discredited, but that does not release the D. A. R., among others, from its obligations to come to his aid. He helped them in their racket. Now is their test of loyalty.

Mr. Cashman's letter itself invited justifiable satire. Let every reader contrive his own. For sake of the issue involved we have given the communication a consideration it did not deserve.

THE EDITORS.

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itself, until at last we can offer it to our readers. It will appear in two
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work of an organization in which are bound to arise from time to time issues
controversial in nature. To suggest how to handle such questions so that they
may be truly educational and reconciling instead of embittering and alienating
is the purpose of this article.

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Some helpful ideas from the editor of the *Church Music Bulletin*.

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Theresa Wilbur Paist

Mrs. Paist, formerly our president, tells something of what it means if we
honestly bend our efforts to following out the convention action to "concentrate
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Looking forward to the Fourth Conference, to be held this winter in Washington.

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The Last Page

THERE may be something in these blindfold tests for cigarettes; though I have my doubts. Even if there is, however, I will wager my literary reputation against a cigar butt (about an even bet, that is) that the best expert in the lot couldn't tell the Republican and Democratic platforms apart. Why not? Because they simply *aren't* apart. They are as inseparable (to borrow an old comparison) as a pair of trousers.

* * *

WHILE we are speaking of tobacco, did you know that Coolidge is an inveterate smoker of wicked-looking stogies, and Hoover puffs devotedly at a nicotine-soaked old brier pipe? But Coolidge rarely takes the photograph-guzzling public into his confidence in that respect, and Hoover positively refused to have his picture snapped, a short time after his nomination, with his brier in sight. Al Smith smokes faithfully, and hesitates not at all to be pictured more approximately as he lives. Norman Thomas does not smoke; perhaps his keen sense of humor makes such an indulgence unnecessary. But Al, whatever you say against him, won't hide his petty vices, nor will Norman take up publicity smoking to win the votes of the cigar-makers' union. As one who despises election-year photography, I confess to a distinct animus against the Republican incumbent and nominee. There is, I admit, a certain hypocrisy in my attitude. If I were running for the presidency, I should hardly want the dear public to see me in my occasional efforts to act as if I really knew how to smoke.

* * *

NOT often do I lean back on contributors to this department; not often, at least, do I give them any credit when I steal their good ideas. But this time I must pass along some pointed verses:

"HISTORY TEACHES US"

By Aldena Carlson

Said Life Force to Ameba,
As she wiggled in the tide:
"It's time you're evolving,
So get busy and divide."
But Ameba, from Tradition,
Argued it is plain to view
Where there's been one organism
There can't suddenly be two!
But there were.

Said Changed Environment to Amphibian,
As he floated o'er the sand:
"You'll have to change your habits,
Go bone-dry and live on land."
Wet Amphibian, by Zoology,
Law of Fittest-To-Survive,
Demonstrated out of water
He just couldn't keep alive!
But he did.

Said Instinct to the Anthropoid,
"If you're to slug and roar,
It's time you learned to balance
On two feet instead of four."
Mr. Anthro proved by Physics
That if he should leave his rut,
He'd lose his equilibrium
And bump his cocoonut!
But he didn't.

Said Experience to the Cave Man,
"This rough stuff's going flat;
You'll have to rule your roost and clan
By subtler means than that."
The Cave Man cited Nature's Law
To prove he'd be a dub
For flabby Law-and-Order
To scrap his solid club!
But he did.

Said Intellect to Modern Man,
"You settle this affair
Of stab and starve and slaughter,
Or you'll soon be rather rare."
Said wise, sophisticated Modern Man,
"It's up to me to die;
Old ways are suicidal,
And new ways I will not try!"
But he will.

* * *

MR. FREDERICK WILLIAM WILE, noted news writer worries by radio lest pacifists "further poison public opinion." And now comes a scientist who declares that the rattlesnake—so runs the breezy headline interpretation—is a gentleman and a pacifist. This takes me off my guard. I have been called a rattlesnake, but have never heard of a rattlesnake converted to pacifism. Maybe Mr. Wile doesn't need to get all steamed up after all.

* * *

IN Slovakia a new religious sect has been organized. Its devotees consecrate their energies on the extermination of fruit trees, because an apple tree caused the fall of man. The faithful have therefore destroyed all fruit trees in their own yards, and are embarking on a campaign of evangelization. Well, what of it? Over here the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, another fundamentalist body, is offering for sale Atheist flags and pins, consisting of a blue field with a red star in the center. The blue stands for truth and the red star for the courage to proclaim it. This insignia, it is hoped, will be accepted by all the atheists of the world. 'S all right with me. As something of an amateur astronomer, I beg leave to remind the A. A. A. (sound like a college yell, doesn't it?) that red stars may be either new stars coming into the fullness of being, such as brilliant Antares, or stars doomed to decline and death. "The dwarf red stars," says one authority, "are believed to be cooling, for they possess chemical combinations only possible in a decreasing temperature relatively low for stars. This must mean that such stars are growing old, for metallic vapors are never found in stars that are young. In a still later stage, these metallic vapors condense and form a solid crust." Well, it sometimes seems that way.

* * *

SECRETARY of the Navy Wilbur achieved favorable publicity, deservedly, when he prevented a big caddie boy from belaboring a smaller lad over the head with a club. Stepping in to restore justice and to take the little boy's part, Mr. Wilbur speedily stopped the fight. All right, Mr. Secretary: on to Nicaragua!

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